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CV:

Kul Bhushan Mohtra was born on 9th Sep, 1957 in a village Amuwala in Kathua district.

Matric from BOSE, Jammu and Adeeb from AMU. Has been awarded Honorary Professor by School of Liberal Art & Languages, Shobhit University, Gangoh, Distt. Saharanpur, U.P.

Director General, Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation nominated him as his nominee in the Committee for purchasing of Books for UT Jammu & Kashmir. Incharge of Nanaji Deshmukh Library & Documentation Department at BJP state HQ in J&K.

Actively engaged in political, social, charitable and religious activities. Always striving to serve the poor and downtrodden of the society.

Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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JAMMU & KASHMIR

# JAMMU AND KASHMIR GOVERNMENT

FILE NO: 3

Letter of Bal Raj Madhok (Praja Parishad)
Documents on Praja Parishad (1952-1953)
Working Comittee of Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha
(Resolutions)

Date of Closing _____

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SUBJECT

PRAJA PARISHAD

PE 1990-91

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From:

Bal Raj Madhok,
Organising Secretary,
Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad
(C/o Paramount Press, Dariaganj, Delhi).

To

Shri G.S. Bajpai,
Secretary General,
External Affairs Ministry,
Government of India, NEW DELHI.

Dear Sir,

I beg to submit as 'aide-memoir' the gist of the points that I made out during my talk with you on the 26.5.50 as also those which I could not touch due to shortage of time, regarding the view point of the Praja Parishad, the most representative organisation of India held Jammu Province of the Jammu & Kashmir State, about the Kashmir problem.

1. The Praja Parishad would have liked the Government of India to not to risk a plebiscite in Kashmir at this or any future time. But since the Government of India stands committed to it, it would be most impolitic and undemocratic to allow the predominantly Muslim population of Kashmir to decide the future of the Dogras of Jammu or Ladakhis of Ladakh with whom they have nothing in common whatsoever by holding the plebiscite taking the whole State as a unit. The choice of the people of Jammu and Ladakh to remain a part of India is clear and unequivocal. Therefore no plebiscite is needed there. If it must be held at all it should be confined to Kashmir valley alone.

2. Praja Parishad is as much opposed to the independence of the State as to its accession to Pakistan. It is therefore perturbed by the subtle moves of Sh. Abdullah and his communist supporters to secure independence for the entire India held part of the State. Let the Government of India and Sheikh Abdullah do whatever they think proper with Kashmir valley. But nothing should be done to break the natural, historical, political, economic and cultural ties of the people of Jammu (from Pathankot and Banihal) and Ladakh with India.

3. Care should be taken to keep Bhadarwah (Hindu majority) and Kishtwar (slight Muslim majority now due to immigration of Kashmiri Muslims), the two richest and strategically most important parts of Jammu with Jammu and Bharat. This is important because Sheikh Abdullah's Government has been trying in a very subtle way since its very inception to cut them off from the Hindu majority districts of Udhampur and thus destroy the territorial link between Jammu and Ladakh. They have been constituted by them into a new district of Doda whose Muslim population has swelled recently by Kashmiri Muslim immigrants from Kashmir valley from across the Banihal and other passes that link Jammu with Kashmir valley.

4. In deciding the future of the State or taking any other decisive step concerning it the representatives of Praja Parishad should also be consulted. The Government of India, I would like to assure you, can always depend upon Praja Parishad for anything for the good of India and the State.

I would like to post you with some more facts and therefore would request you to give sometime on some other day at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,

( Bal Raj Madhok )

Dated.
the 27th May 1950.

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OFFICE OF THE ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD, JAMMU.

No.

PRESS BULLETIN.

Dated 29th December, 1952.

Having thus failed to meet the countrywide mass upheaval the top ranking National Conference leaders have begun to preach sermons to their followers with a view to cheer up their disgruntded and frustrated phychology; born out of their utter disappointment which they have met in an effort to win even a fraction of the whole mass of Jammu Province to their side.

Bakshi Gulam Mohd, the State's Deputy Prime-Minister, is reported to have talked of Nehru-Abdullah friendship as the gurantee for the security for four million Muslims of India and one million non-Muslims in Pakistan, to a largely attended meeting of National Conference workers assembled in Srinagar, from all over the Kashmir Valley. The worthy Minister is further reported to have poured out all possible abuse for the Parishad movement and characterised it as representing the "vested interes" "the landlords" and 'money lenders' who have been "highly effected" by the so-called "progressive reforms" introduced by the Sheikh Government in the State.

If the present agitation for full and unqualified accession of the State with India and the application of the entire Indian Constitution over the State can break the "indo-Kashmir alliance" and defeat Pt: Nehru's secular democracy, we fail to understand how can restricted accession, and a separate constitution either be aclaimed a triumph for Pt: Nehru's secular democracy or fasten the strings afe old deep political and cultural relations of India and Kashmir. For the sake of argument, if Nehru-Abdullah friendship is the only gurantee for the Muslims and non-muslims of both India and Pakistan, what will be the fate of either communities in both the countries, in case either of the two Prime Ministers are forced to relinquish their present office, if popular verdict goes against their continuance as such.

Better it would have been had the Deputy Prime-Minister, laid stress on the friendship of the two peoples, their oneness of socio political idealism and unity of out-look and purpose. But let our brothern accross the border; Indians understand the motives of these deceitful hollow talks, devoid of any argument and sense. It has amply paid the present oligorchial rulers of the State to exploit Pt: Nehru's straightforwardness and honesty of purpose. They have all along used it as a stratagy to keep the poor Indian tax payer and the

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Otherwise how could he have remarked like this when it is a hard reality that the Supreme Court of India

We assert on the merit of our experience for the last so many years in the political arena of the State that it is futile to argue with obstinate rulers of the State, who seem to be determined in their design to maintain the independent status of the State of course guarded by the gallant Indian defence forces and financed by the Indian exchequer under one pretext or the other.

Mere press statements, public speeches or Radio broadcasts can not solve the actual problem. A realistic view of the situation in consideration with the aspirations of the people and the larger interests of the country's integrity as a whole is the prime need of the hour.

Should sane sense prevail upon the rulers of the State to realise the great potential benefits which ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ unqualified accession of the State shall bring in its wake, they ought to heed up with the suggestion and solve the long standing deadlock to ease the political tension and create sense of stability and confidence among the people

PUBLICITY SECRETARY,
ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD.
JAMMU.

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The recent disclosures of the Prime Minister of the State with regard to have a separate Election Commissioner in the State is against the National wishes of the people. The past experience of the people during the last general elections and the civic elections has created a belief in the people that the Government does not belief in holding free and fair elections. The device of having separate Election Commissioner is intended to win the elections by dictatonal and in a most highhanded manner. The people living in the state want the sureties that the past methods adopted to reject the nominations papers of the opposite candidates and the distribution of the sealed ballot papers to their own people to be cast in favour of their own candidates would not be repeated.

During the past Elections the appointment of presiding and polling officers having party affiliations has shaken the confidence of the people in the fairness of the elections and has rather created a belief in them that the elections in the State would be as usual farcical and they would have no end of their miseries in view of these circumstances.

During the last Assembly elections some seats were reserved for Harijans. The Parishad is not opposed to the reservation of seats for Harijans but it strongly advocates that double member constituency system as prescribed in the Indian constitution should be introduced in the state to safeguard the rights of people other than Harijans living in the state. There is no concent reason why the elections in the state should be held in different times when elections are to be held within firteen days simultaneously throughout the country having different climatic and transport conditions in its various parts.

No census has been held in the state for the last 15 days and therefore Jammu Province has not been given adequate representation in the Assembly according to its population which is in no way less than that of the Kashmir Province and instead of equal representation being alocated to it the ratio of the seats allotted to the two

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Provinces is alarmingly unproportional.

The Ministerial interference in the recent elections was quite evident. Encouraged by their interference the local executive Officers also exceeded their powers and did all that they could do to please their masters-their Ministers-in-charge. It had its prejudiced the elections to a great deal.

The working committee of the Praja Parishad resolves that

(1) The elections to the state Assembly should be held under the direct control and supervision of the Election Commissioner of India simultaneously throughout the state.

(2) That there should be double member constituencies in the reserved constituencies and the two provinces be given equal representations.

(3) That the two Provincies of Jammu and Kashmir be given equal representation.

(4) That the people of the state should have a right to send their representatives to the Lok Sabha on the direct frunches system rather that the present nomination.

(5) That the Ministry should be dissolved at least one month before the elections.

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Following is the full text of the statement issued by Shri Durga Dass Verma, General Secretary All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad J A M M U. after personal enquiring in the police excesses ---------- on January 26 53.

Facts have fully substanteated our allegations against the handedness and ill advised conduct of the police authorities. The continued and deblrate silence which the executive authorities have maintained confirms our belief that these provocative measures have their approval. The irresponsible attitude of the policse on 26th. January 1953 must prove an eye opener into the alleged excess.

A detailed programme to celebrate the Republic day was chalked out by the Praja Parishad. Flag hoisting ceremony was to take place in the main city square, the place where the different groups of Prabhat Peries were to watch this solemn ceremony. As soon as the 12'000 strong processionists including near about 500 women raising slogans:-

Ek desh main dho vidhan
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The police objected to the ceremony under the silly pretext that the traffic was obstructed and as such the people should disperse forth with. The Parishad volenteers on the spot argued that as the ceremony, was to take place in only a few minutes, the question of obstruction to the free movement of traffic did not arise. But the police authoriries,

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As a protest the whole city immediately observed a half-day strick. thus sending shame to the bureucratic irresponsibility. The story of counter fires from the public and injuries to any of the police officers as announced by the radio so shamelessly is an after-thought fabrication. Thus the sole responsibility of these untoward happenings is the shoulders of the Govt., which has all along encouraged police officers in these most uncalled for measures

Jai Bharat

Durga Dass Verma
General Secretary all
Jammu & Kashmir
Rajparishad

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The Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha which met at New Delhi on Ist, 2nd and 3rd March 1952, passed the following resolutions:

## Disciplinary action.

The Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha notes with regret that a few responsible members of the Hindu Mahasabha either fought election on other party ticket or adopted their symbols or otherwise acted against Hindu Mahasabha interests. The Working Committee therefore appoints a Sub-Committee consisting of (1) Sri V.G. Deshpande (2) Sri Ashutosh Lahiry, (3) Sri Indraprakash (4) Sri Hardyal Devgun and Sri R.A. Kanitkar (as Convenor) to make thorough inquiries into the conduct of all such persons and submit their report within two months to the Working Committee to take such action as it deems proper.

## General elections

The Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha after giving its earnest and careful consideration to reports received from various States is definitely of opindon that the last general elections to the Parliament as well as to the State Legislatures were neither fair nor impartial and were vitiated by widespread and varied mal-practices which prevented the results of the elections from being a proper index of popular opinion for reasons inter alia --

(a) widespread use of Governmental machinery for carrying on propaganda in favour of the Congress candidates;

(b) the assumption by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the dual role of the Prime Minister of India and the President of the Congress organisation which made it possible for Government resources and machinery to be exploited for the propagation of party aims;

(c) issue of confidential instructions by certain Ministers which resulted in the rejection of nomination papers of many non-Congress candidates on grounds which were absolutely frivolous;

(d) indulging by Returning Officers, Presiding Officers and Counting Staff in various irregularities and illegalities which materially influenced the result of the counting;

(e) Violability of the ballot boxes which has been demonstrated at so many places;

(f) the long interval in many cases between the close of polling and the date of counting making it possible for manipulation of ballot boxes.

The Working Committee is definitely of the opinion that its failure to capture a sufficiently large number of seats is primarily due to the campaign of villification carried on by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru particularly in charging the Hindu Mahasabha with complicity in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Working Committee hereby appoints a Sub-Committee consisting of Shri N.C. Chatterjee, Shri Srikrishna Sharma (Rajkot), Prof. Ram Singh, (Delhi), Sri Vishwanath Agarwal (Lucknow) and Sri R.A. Kanitkar (as Convenor) with a view to collect further acurate facts and detailed information about these allegations and prepare a report for the consideration of the Committee and also to suggest improvements in the existing laws and rules governing the General Elections.

## Critical Situation in Jammu & Kashmir.

Different versions of the recent happenings in the Jammu city which led to lathi-charges, firing, promulgation of curfew order for 79 hours, handing over of the city to the military control, calling the Punjab Police, arrests, detentions, externments, suspension of Hindu officers and continuance of the hunger-strike by the students till this day etc. have appeared in the Indian press. It is sad that the events have taken a very serious turn and even the very life of many hunger-striking students is in danger. The situation in Jammu and Kashmir is causing grave agitation in the minds of Hindus all over India.

The Working Committee is definitely of the opinion that thrusting of party flag of the National Conference on Jammu and Kashmir state, and having a separate flag for the State along with the Union flag is against democracy and militates against the essential unity of Hindusthan.

This meeting of the Working Committee is further of the opinion that the persecution of political parties for conducting just agitation for the complete integration of Jammu and Kashmir is against all cannons of civil liberties.

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So far as the actual events are concerned there are two different versions -- one being the Government version and the other being non-official version.

Reserving our comment at present and keeping all those different aspects in view and for the greater interests of India and in order to correctly assess the situation and finding facts the Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha requests the Government of India to set up an independent Judicial Commission, presided over by some of Indian High Court Judge, to investigate into the happenings in Jammu.

It also resolves that a deputation of two members of the Working Committee should be sent to Jammu to look into the matter.

## Repression in Saurashtra.

The Working Committee views with great concern and alarm the campaign of repression started by the Congress Government in Saurashtra against its political opponents particularly against those who fought in the last election against the Congress candidate and many of whom are leading members of the Hindu Mahasabha on the plausible ground that they had conspired with a gang of outlaws and is of the opinion that this campaign is a prelude to further act of repression against its political rivals and constitute a flagrant abuse of autocratic powers conferred upon the Government under the provision of the Preventive Detention Act. The Working Committee demands that these persons be placed on trial before a Court of Law without further loss of time or be released forthwith.

## Pakistan flag and election propaganda.

The Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha notes with indignation that Pakistan flag was displayed and pro-Pakistani slogans were raised during the course of the general election in certain parts of Madras Presidency ~~xxx~~ West Bengal and Hyderabad and that in spite of concrete evidence being available, no action has been taken against these open enemies of the State.

The Mahasabha has further ~~xxx~~ reliable informations that in the border districts of West Bengal, particularly in the Constituencies bordering Pakistan, thousands of Moslems who had migrated to Pakistan during the 1950 episode, but whose names were still retained in the voters list, crossed the frontier and cast their votes obviously in favour of the Congress candidates, that a responsible Minister of the Pakistan Government such as its Prime Minister, Mr.Nazimuddin broadcasted speeches from Dacca Radio urging the Moslems to work for success of the Congress candidates, with the result that in many Pakistan border districts propaganda offices were opened with the active collaboration of the officials and Moulavis and Mollas were sent out to work amongst the Moslems masses of West Bengal with a view to securing their solid support to the Congress nominees.

The Mahasabha is of opinion that this is an extraordinary event in the general election of the country and constitutes a direct interference in the internal affairs of Bharat by a foreign ~~xx~~ power. The Mahasabha urges the Government to institute an enquiry into the matter and take steps against persons and organisations for promoting such anti-State activities.

## Pakistani spies in Hyderabad State.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has received reports of the ~~xx~~ nefarious activities of Pakistani agents in Adilabad District of Hyderabad State. The Working Committee notes with grave concern the utter neglect of these dangerous activities both by the State and the Union Governments and is simply shocked to learn that the local officials are being harassed and even punished for taking steps against these agents. The Working Committee draws attention of the Union Government to this situation for effective action and demands a judicial inquiry in the episode.

This Committee deputes Shri S.R. Date to make inquiries regarding the actual state of affairs and report to the Working Committee.

## General Political situation.

The Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that the general elections have brought about a fundamental change in the political situation of the country owing to the emergence of the Communist Party as the single

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Srinagar : The Communist Party of India (Right) has travelled a full circle in getting back at the idea of "the fullest autonomy and democracy" for Kashmir.

The Party's General Secretary, Mr. C. Rajeshwar Rao, who was here recently on a week's "study tour", told newsmen that while his party favoured immediate release of Sheikh Abdullah and removal of restrictions on the movement of Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg, the solution to the "Kashmir issue" could be worked out on the basis of an autonomous Kashmir. In order that this did not appear a firm commitment from his Party, Mr. Rao hastened to add that before any solution is arrived at, there should be a good deal of "lobbying and convassing" after the Sheikh is released.

It is interesting to note that as far back as 1947, when the Communist Party attempted to weave a web around the Sheikh, the Communist Party workers like B.P.L Bedi and others were responsible for giving the Kashmir constitution the bias of a independent country's constitution. In this they ~~succeeded~~ succeded quite eminently inasmuch as the Kashmir constitution adopted clauses enabling the State to have a separate flag, a Sadar-i-Riyasat and the like.

However, the Communists changed their stand in 1953 and were mainly responsible for the coup in which Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed and arrested. The Moscow-patriots saw in Sheikh's postures an attempt to precipitate an independent status for Kashmir. Since this was not acceptable to their ~~hp~~ bosses in Moscow, the Communists engineered a coup saying that the Sheikh had become a victim of "imperialist conspiracy".

In manipulating 1953 events in Kashmir, the Communists had envisaged a "complete take over" eventually. But they had face complete failure when the then Prime Minister of the State, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, began to clear his ranks of communists from 1955 onwards. The Indian communists were in a quandry because Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed condemned western moves for forcing a solution to Kashmir issue as vehementaly as he condemned the communist scheming in and outside Kashmir.

The Indian Communists were, therefore, left high and dry. They aimed their guns at the Bakshi before whom the progressives like Messers Sadiq, Qasim and Dhar appeared incompetent and ineffective. 1963 was staged. The loss of the holy relic from the Hazratbal shrine came in handy and the Communists approved the line adopted by Mr. G.M.Sadiq in demanding the abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which guarantees special status to Kashmir. The Indian Communists supported Sadiq in demanding fuller integration of the State with the rest of the country. Evidently, this was not really what they meant. For after Mr. Sadiq took over, the Indian Communists have not forced the implementation of the abrogation of ~~mmmchmd~~ Article 370 and the rest. The game was complete with the elimination of Bakshi from the political scene. For the Communists, the battle was half one as "comrades got into office".

Since 1964, however, even while some communists were inducted into State politics by Messers Sadiq and Qasim, dissatisfaction with the administration has gone on mounting. Hardly any year has passed without trouble. In 1964, the Kashmir vabley was held to ransom by Sheikh Abdullah and Maulvi Farooq. In 1965, the armed Pakistani infiltrators were around Srinagar necessitating a full-scale Indo-Pak war. 1966 was the year of drought in Jammu and floods in the

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valley. And as 1967 seemed to passing off peacefully, the valley witnessed the month-long Pandit agitation and the recent pro-Pakistan student trouble, in both of which about ~~ten~~ ten persons lost their lives. Apart from this miserable law and order situation, Jammu and Kashmir has witnessed "new proportions" in corruption and maladministration as was clear during the last session of the State Legislature. During recent trouble, all the opposition parties in the State including the Plebiscite Front, accused the ruling Congress of having fanned communal disaffection. The discontent with the administration reached the stage of the three wings of the State - Jammu, Kashmir valley and Ladakh - clamouring for regional autonomy.

The Communist Party of India could not afford to be blind to these facts. Mr. Rajeshwar Rao is understood to have ~~said~~ agreed with his local men that the Sadiq Government had miserably failed and it must be get rid of. He is further understood to have enlightened his local boys that "an old communist is more dangerous than an anti-communist".

In this context what is surprising is Mr. Rao's aversion to the suggestion of imposition of President's Rule in the State. In his talks with the State Chief Minister, Mr. Sadiq, Mr. Rao is, however, learnt to have not ruled out the possibility of Government of India clamping President's Rule in the State. When Mr. Sadiq maintained that the step would invoke international wrath, Mr. Rao is learnt to have told Sadiq that he had better clear his mind of such logic after the Pakistani attack on Kashmir of 1965.

Whatever the communist designs on Kashmir on the idea of "fullest autonomy and democracy", their acceptance of the "total failure" of the Sadiq Government is important. Much as they would not have liked to admit it, they have done so. The compelling intensity of the circumstances now prevailing in Kashmir must be judged by this.

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(Gopal Dass Sachar)
Correspondent.

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50
Election
irregularity.

The Jammu and Kashmir state being an integral part of Bharat from times immemorial the people of the state are indissolubly linked with other Bhartyas so far as their traditions political, cultural and economic life is concerned.

In the year 1947 due to the barbarous attack of Pakistan on the state of Jammu and Kashmir , Sheikh Abdullah was brought into power much less by force of circumstances , but much more by bind of true love of Pandit Nehru . This Sheikh,as you all now know with the help of his communal and selfish party men started the game bargaining both with Pakistan,who plundered the wealth,modesty and beauty of our mother land, and with India, who actually brought him out of Jail and brought him to this exalted position of Prime Ministership of J&K state . This fact influenced the rather timid leaders of India to appease and grant a special status to this state where communists and communalists gained power day by day.

Intoxicated with power , this ruling clique, instead of developing the state , engaged themselves in making fortunes for themselves and their kith and kin and their party men. In order to have a free hand in the state affairs they manipulat to make the state a seperate indipendent unit. Their unchecked dictatorial powers were used to suppress the civil liverties of the people by enacting repressive laws of the dark ages . Corruption ,partiality and nepotism became rampant everywhere. Things came to such a dangerous pass that Praja Parishad had to give them a tough fight . Thrice the innocent Dogras wer mercilessly belaboured, children teargassed and women folk molest ed . All this did not quench their thirst but during the last Praja Parishad Satyagrah precious young lives of 15 Dogras br man were sacrificed to unfold their notorious plans. Their la and severest blow was on the brightest gem of Bharat Mata.

From the very beginning of its regime the National Confe had a very bad record of unfair practices . In the last gene Elections it again came to power through their very means brut force and illegally rejecting nomination papers of Praja Parishad candidates ,and prepared a seperate constitut

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their dudgeon and tactics to "win" the election in an unfair and highhanded manner. In fact the past experience of the people of the State is grasping and are owner to the [illegible] and that is why they want the election to be conducted under the supervision of the Election Commissioner of India. The illegal rejections of the nominations of the opposition Candidates and loss of sealed ballot papers burdens to members [illegible] the recent Jammu Municipal election, a day previous [illegible] election to the members of the ruling party to be elected in favour of their candidates are a few instances of the "Pro and Fair" way in which Bakshi Gulam Mohd intends to conduct the coming election to the Assembly in the State. It is Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah and Bakshi Gulam Mohd who are very often disturb the peace in the State rather than those living population living therein.

The Kashmir Prime Minister is absolutely wrong when he [illegible] the Election Commissioner. In fact the State machinery officials are demoralized and used to serve their party purpose. Justice is delayed and sometimes denied in many a case. The position of the High Court has been reduced to a nonentity in such a way that cannot function a Minister. Their arrest military attack the proposals of the High Court are kept in the cold storage for months together. They are not deemed to be in accord with the wishes of the Law Minister or Prime Minister. Executive interference has been increased to such an extent that a time is not further when the people have to decide as a best course left open to them to fit of the circumstances they are faced with. It is not the question of accommodation of the Kashmir by the Kashmir Prime Minister as desired by the Kashmir Prime Minister but it is on matter of principle which have not to be compromised to. Said the Kashmir Prime Minister's separatist tendency. The country as a whole is to be kept in tact without discriminatory treatment to the inhabitants whether it may be Bakhshi Gulam Mohd or Mirwaiz Abdullah or any body living in the rest of India.

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(viii) National Conference candidates successful at all costs.

11. Tampering with the counting was the naked violation of all canons of justice by the presiding officers which was done in almost all cases.

12. In case of ward No:- 10 when counting was going on, lights were intentionally put off to achieve their ends. Besides that the votes were not counted in the presence of the candidates and their signatures were not obtained on the counterfoil of the last vote polled. On recounting in the presence of the candidate the votes of Doctor Om Prakash Mengi were found more by 103 votes, than the previously counting. But the votes of the National Conference candidates were not recounted even on the request and protest of Dr. Om Prakash Mengi the contesting candidate, which was an unheard procedure.

The emergency meeting of working committee of the All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad strongly condemns the action of the govt. and its appointed officers and demands the appointment of the officer of the status of a Judge of the High Court to go into the above mentioned malpractices and irregularities with a view to redress its grievences. ~~Thirdly to appoint a Tribunal jurisdiction of the Election Commissioner of India be extended to the State and feels that nothing short of that can meet~~ the urging demand of the people who have no confidence in the present set up in the set up. Secondly it demands that an election commission of persons of the status of a judge of a High Court be appointed forthwith to decide the election petition.

The working committee further resolves that a deputation should be sent to Delhi to ventilate the grievences of the people of Jammu. The working Committee thanks the people of Jammu who have voted for the Praja Parishad candidates and others who have been forcibly denied the right to vote and whose ballot boxes even though have been purposely tampered with.

It appeals to the people to remain calm and peaceful in all circumstances till further step is decided upon whence Justice becomes obscure to us.

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Since the year 1941 ~~there has been~~ no regular census has been conducted in the State ~~which has resulted in the approx inappropriate representation of various provinces in the Legislature and elsewhere.~~ During the last Election in the State Legislature, Constituencies were constituted in an arbitrary manner without keeping into consideration the population in the various parts and constituencies. This meeting of the Praja Parishad resolves that with a view to give ~~effective~~ proper representation to the various ~~people~~ parts in the State, new census should be conducted ~~so that different provinces may get due representation in the Legislature on the basis of population~~ before election are held.

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# Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

## जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

*( Central Office Jammu )*

Ref. No .....

Dated.....

Dear Sir,

I beg to bring to your kind notice the following points for favour of your consideration :-

1 The lists of voters were scheduled to be out on 25-5-2000 according to the Govt orders published in the Gazette dated 24-5-51. But the lists, NOT to speak of the remaining parts of the province, were NOT out in Jammu City in due time.

2 Due publicity to this effect has NOT been given and consequently this important matter has NOT come to the notice of of the general public even until now.

Since the illiterate is mostly hilly and inaccessible and the people are illiterate and politically backward, the time limit of three weeks for filing objections is too inadequate.

4 On perusal of some of the voters lists, it has been observed that they contain many omissions, mistakes and misprints. Due to this it is difficult to decipher and understand the.

5 Objection forms are available only at District and Tehsil headquarters and are not sent to the concerned only. Every man and women cannot be expected to obtain forms for filing objections from the office. It would be costly and troublesome affair. Under these circumstances it would be in the interest

h of the public and the Govt. to arrange supply of the forms at
sily accessible places.

To evolve order and to make proper use of them it is
essary that these lists should be brought upto the mark. Further
e sufficient publicity should be given so that the voters may
e to know what is expected of them and also the forms for
ling objections may be placed at easily accessible places to avoid
hardships to the voters.

It is expected that to make this first approach to
ocratic set up a success, the above demands of the voters would
properly looked into, failing which the Praja Parishad would be
tified to ask for extension in the time limit for filling
ections.

Yours faithfully,

(Durga Dass)
General Secretary,
All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad.

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Praja Parishad stands for the complete integration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with ~~the rest~~ of India and as such has from the very beginning been fighting for the elimination of the discriminations that are existing even at present between the people of the State ~~of Jammu and Kashmir~~ and the rest of India. It advocates that since Kashmir is a part of Bharat there can be only one Nation in the entire Bharat including Kashmir and as such the accepted dogma of one Constitution, one Flag and one President is equally applicable to this part of the country as well. But unfortunately for the people of the State this was not accepted by the rulers and also by the Government of India which naturally resulted in the ~~said incidence of~~ the year '53.

After the Pakistani raids over the State of Jammu and Kashmir the Maharaja of Kashmir on 26 th Oct. 1947 signed the instrument of accession whereby the relationship of the State with the rest of India was revived and the State became an integral part of Bharat. Pakistan carried on its activities ~~in the STATE~~ in contravention of all International Laws WHEREfore the Government of India took the matter to the United Nations but the power blocs over there have not realized the true aspect of the problem and has unnecessarily lingered it for a long time. The people of the State ~~living therein~~ unmindful of the dilatory tactics of the power blocs kept the pace of the progress advancing and unequivocally affirmed the accession of the Maharaja with the rest of India. The State's representatives were taken in the Constitutional Assembly of India

in the State

1. Enemy held Territory.
2. Article 81 modification to be deleted

enabling untold miseries on our brethren on the other side of the cease fire line for which we feel much aggrieved. It is our duty to free them from the clutches of their oppressors and to explain the limits of our ~~social~~ progress.

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is not at park with the rest of India, ~~and this brings them to an inferior position, to get justice from the rest of Bharat.~~ The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court ~~of India~~ under artilce 136 of the Constitution of India conferring special leave to appeal is still denied to the people of the State, ~~of Jammu and Kashmir.~~ The judges of the State High Court, though they can be appointed by the President of India at the recommendation of the Chief Justice ~~of India~~ cannot be transferred from the State to any other State High Court ~~in the rest of India~~ morever the cases pending in the State courts can also not be transferred there. It is found that the State executive is exercising undue influence. The people in the rest of India enjoy this privilege. They get such redress whenever occasion arises. Praja Parishad, therefore, also feels impediment ~~that~~ to end the discrimination between the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and rest of India the High Court of the State should be brought at par with the rest ~~of India~~ and the control and supervision of the Supreme Court should be complete in all respects, ~~like the rest of Bharat.~~

6 The elections in the State though have been conducted twice since the year 1951 but infact the people of the State have not been allowed the exercise of their free right to vote. The illegal, and unjustified rejections of the nomination papers, the breaking open of the ballot boxes of the opposition candidates, ~~and~~ stealing the ballot papers ~~caste~~ in their favour, Hooliganism,

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goondaism, repression at the hands of so called ~~PEACE BRIGADE~~ Law and order, Government interference from the lowest to the highest level are the orders of the day. The State Constitution provides a separate Election Commissioner for the State and during the first two elections the people of the State have had a very bitter experience ~~a very bitter taste~~ and now they feel that as long as this discriminatory position continues and the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India is not extended to the State and as long as the overawe of the present regime ~~Government~~ continues there can be no free and fair election ~~as a result thereof no constitutional and orderly Government can be set up to represent the people of this State~~. They firmly believe that along with the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India the provisions relating to the Election Commission of India be also extended to the State of Jammu and Kashmir ~~and that the State should be brought within the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India~~. till Article 370 of the Constitution of India is made repealed.

We at this juncture feel exaulted when we find that the age old demands of the integration of the services ~~be accomplished soon~~ have been accomplished ~~so done~~ in the recent past but this integration is not complete because the recommendations of the States Reorganization Committee are not carried in full. Whereas the said Committee has recommended that in all the States ~~ix~~ at least a considerable portion of the Central Services should be from other provinces, ~~other than those where they are serving~~ Since J&K the State, the cadre selected from the State have been deputed here, after ~~having received a refresher course for a few months.~~

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~~These officers were recruited by the present Govern-ment and many of~~ These officers have been enjoyed and are enjoying the benevolence of the present rulers of the State and have recommended the obliged them and they too have in return paid them in the same coin. As such the people of the State have been complaining and groaning under the mis-rule of the present Government with the present set up and do not feel satisfied with the presente of the selected cadre of I.A.S. & IPS officers still serving in the State. It is now in the fitness of the circumstances and also carrying out the recommendations of the States Reorganizarion Committee into effect that it is suggested that the cadre of the State service selected in IAS & IPS and in other Indian Central services be transferred from the State to other parts of ~~the rest of India~~ country and fresh element brought in the State from the adjoining provinces.

19 We cannot shut our eyes to the present circumstances in the adjoining countries to Bharat. In Pakistan the failure of democratic set up and the abrogation of the Constitution has resulted in the establishment of dictatorial set up in that country. This tendency of usurption of the constitutional rights of the people by the dictators ~~are not going~~ is likely to have no effect on the body politic of this country as well. Unless and so far the people in this part of the counry are not made to feel that their democratic rights will be safeguarded at all costs. In fact the people living in the State are deprived of their

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property of their personal freedom and of the rights that are conferred upon them under Chapter III of the Constitution of India. The enactment of article 35-C in the Constitution of India for the State of Jammu and Kashmir only has given unfeller powers to the present State Government to imprison any body and every body whom they so like. This power has been invariably misued by the rulers of the State. Even in the very recent times those who ~~adxx~~ ~~adxxxx~~ dared to oppose the policey of the State Government are being thrown behind the bars under the Preventive Detention Act. The recent victim of this Black Act is Bakhshi Abdul Hamid. Land ~~laws~~ Reforms were enacted depriving the people of their fundamental rights to hold the property. ~~xlxxx~~ ~~without giving them any compensation~~. Recruitment to the services is done on the communal basis ignoring merits which ~~in~~ has natrually resulted in the deterioration of ~~and~~ efficiency in the administration. This deteriorated administration and inefficient officers cannot do justice to the people ~~living in the State naturally~~ they feel very much aggrieved and want a change over which can ~~only be effected by holding free and fair impartial elections to the State where the people may exercise their gith without fear or alarm as it exists at present time. If these grievances are not redressed and the mischief is not eradicated the dictatorial tendency that have developed in the neighbouring counrty are likely to flourish causing imperel to the democratic set up in ~~the~~ our country.

We can also not forget that one of the big powers

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surrounding Kashmir have inspite of showing good will to us have ~~taken upon themselves~~ to usurped the independence of Tibet. ~~their duty dependency~~. The principles of Co-existence even though very loudly applauded have been brutally murdered. The incidents in Tibet are causing alarm to the people of the State ~~of Jammu and Kashmir~~ and especially to the Ladhakhis who owe their spiritual allegiance to the Dalai Lama ~~of Tibet~~, their spiritual head. It is also our duty to see that our neighbourers are living peacefully and that those who adhere to the principles of the Co-existence and have taken pledge to stick to it do so in action rather than by expression alone. The independence of the small countries should be protected and it can add to the world peace. It is for the Government of India to take strong steps in the direction to see that our neighbourers do feel security and protection of their independence. The matter should be taken up in the forum it deserves so that the independence of howsoever small nations may be respected and protected at all costs.

4// We also take the opportunity to congratulate our people for the acceptance of the other demand of application of the Census Act of India to the State ~~of Jammu and Kashmir~~ and also that the census of the state be conducted soon. ~~It is our~~ We feel pleasure to thank the Government of India for having passed the Constitution (Application to the Jammu and Kashmir) Amendment order 1959 whereby they have applied the Census Act to the State. Previously during the elections there have been discriminations between the two provinces but we hope that ~~with~~ the new Census would reveal

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the startling differences and would ensure further equal representation to the people living in both the provinces.

18 Praja Parishad had since the year 1951 criticising the planless plans adopted by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The 1st Five Year Plan which was the beginning of the first adventurous plan of the Jammu and Kashmir State resulted in utter failure but the Government instead of ~~admitting~~ taking other parties into confidence ~~still~~ embarked upon the second plan, ~~on the same basis and without taking any consultation of the opposition parties for the framing of the progressive plans of the State~~. This plan too was showing the signs of failure in its very infancy and we claim that our ~~criticism~~ observations has proved true and correct when we ~~find that~~ learn Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad saying in his budget speech ~~of 59-60~~ on _____ in the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly that 84 out of 92 schemes in the plans were without proper planning and of course without making proper assessment as to whether they were workable or not. This has resulted in a great loss to the State exchequer ~~of the State of Jammu and Kashmir~~ and the money ~~for the expenses~~ spent on these thoughtless plans has gone waste. Those who were responsible for such waste ~~should~~ are criminally responsible for it and deser-ve strongest condemnation. These plans have also not improved the conditions for which they were ~~taken into hand~~ intended. The food situation still grows serious and inspite of ~~defect~~ the fact that a great portion of the State has gone in the hands of the enemy imports have been incresing from 3 lac

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maunds to 32 lac maunds per year. The recent rise in the prices of foodstuffs has also ~~untold~~ miseries and woes ~~and~~ the poor people and the employees, ~~in its wake~~ Instead of increasing their pays they have been ~~faced~~ to deprive of whatever they were getting by the ..... increase in the prices of the food stuffs. The improvement in production which the Government ~~would~~ contemplated ~~would~~ have been feasible by the introduction of the land reforms has also not borne any ~~improvement~~ result and instead we are facing decrease which clearly shows that land reforms taken into hand by the Jammu and Kashmir Government were also without proper assessment of the situation and the conditions of the State. Yet we find that ~~anyx~~ in order to hide its failure of improving the food situation the Government is now embarking upon another land reforms known as cooperative farming. This cooperative farming has in the European countries wherever taken into hand ~~has~~ ~~manx~~ met a ~~xxxx~~ a sad failure accept of course in USSR AND CHINA where there is a totalitarian State and not a democratic set up. In Yugoslavia, Poland this cooperative farming instead of showing any increase showed a tremendous decrease in the food stuffs wherefore the Governments of Poland and Yugoslavia gave up this cooperative farming and recognized the individual rights of holding of the tenants. After the ~~introduction~~ reversal of the age old system the increase has been remarkable and much of the food crisis that ~~it~~ had developed in those countries has subsided. The Government had ~~directed~~ adopted direct and indirect control and ownership in the various spheres of the public life and, therefore, there has been an increase in the concentration of power. This policy instead of opening

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new avenues of progress in the under privileged sections of the society has created difficulties in the proper development of the society and has degenerated immoral and anti social tendencies in the society. Based as they are upon foreign ideologies these policies have always been .... to our national character. They have given rise to more conflicts in the peoples minds. Complete control of trade and industry has also resulted in deterioration in these establishments of society. The recent proposal of completely annihiliating the individual peasant under the scheme of cooperative farming will strike at the very ~~routes~~ roots of the democracy. The ~~farmer~~ farmer will be reduced to the position of a serf and the individual liberty would be gone. In our State there was such a system in vogue in one of the districts known as Kathua but the past experience of so many years has ~~divulged~~ disclosed that this system is not a successful system for the increase of food production. Before practically embarking upon this new proposal we suggest that it be not taken ~~from the hand~~ into hand and the lesson should be taken from the countries where it has miserably failed.

Praja Parishad thinks that the encroachment upon people's liberty is a ~~crimnalx~~ crime against humanity and a way designed to crush the Indian values of life.

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Praja Parishad stands for the complete integration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with ~~the rest~~ of India and as such has from the very beginning been fighting for the elimination of the discriminations that are existing even at present between the people of the State ~~of Jammu and Kashmir~~ and the rest of India. It advocates that since Kashmir is a part of Bharat there can be only one Nation in the entire Bharat including Kashmir and as such the accepted dogma of one Constitution, one Flag and one President is equally applicable to this part of the country as well. But unfortunately for the people of the State this was not accepted by the rulers and also by the Government of India which naturally resulted in the said ~~incidence of~~ the year '53.

After the Pakistani raids over the State of Jammu and Kashmir the Maharaja of Kashmir on 26 th Oct. 1947 signed the instrument of accession whereby the relationship of the State with the rest of India was revived and the State became an integral part of Bharat. Pakistan carried on its activities in contravention of all International Laws ~~in the STATE~~ WHEREfore the Government of India took the matter to the United Nations but the power blocs over there have not realized the true aspect of the problem and has unnecessarily lingered it for a long time. The people of the State ~~living therein~~ unmindful of the dilatory tactics of the power blocs kept the pace of the progress advancing and unequivocally affirmed the accession of the Maharaja with the rest of India. The State's representatives were taken in the Constitutional Assembly of India

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1. Enemy held Territory.

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entailing untold miseries on our brethren on the other side of the Cease fire line for which we feel much aggrieved. It is our duty to free them from the clutches of their oppressors. Marksand to ~~teach~~ explain the benefits ~~to~~ of our ~~constitution~~ progress & prosperity. When

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~~and they represented the state's sentiments over there.~~ It was at their bidding that article 370 was introduced in the Constitution and it was intended for a transitory period but some ~~rulers~~ leaders of the State took it upon themselves to consider the transitory provision of article 370 in the Constitution of India to be a permanent statuse giving the special privilege to the ruling party ~~rulers~~ of the State to continue the discrimination depriving the people of the State to enjoy the basic fundamental rights like their brethren in the rest of India. These leaders had lately behaved in such a manner that their own compatriots decided to ~~imprison them and to launch prosecution against them.~~

3 The demand of the people of the State to end the discriminatory treatment being meted out to them forced the Government of the Jammu and Kashmir to recommend to the Government of India to extend some provisions of the Constitution to the State. These included the fundamental rights and also some safeguards for approach to the Supreme Court of India but the distinguishing factor of obtaining permit for entry in and exit of the State was continued. This was against all cannons of good consciousness and added to the misery of the people. We at this time feel pleasure to congratulate our people for the success they have won when we learn that the Govt of Jammu and Kashmir have at last decided to discontinue ~~this law~~ from 1st of April, 1959. The privileged position still continues and the people of the State do not get free excess to the Supreme Court of India for the redress of the grievances. ~~Even~~ The High Courts of the Jammu and Kashmir is

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3 The demand of the people of the State to end the dis-criminatory treatment being meted out to them forced the Government of the Jammu and Kashmir to recommend to the Government of India to extend some provisions of the Constitution to the State. These included the fundamental rights and also some safeguards for approach to the Supreme Court of India but the distinguishing factor of obtaining permit for entry in and exit of the State was continued. This and was against all cannons of good consciousness ~~and~~ added to the misery of the people. We at this time feel pleasure to congratulate our people for the success they have won when we learn that the Govt of Jammu and Kashmir and the Govt of India have at last decided to discontinue ~~this law~~ permit system from Ist of April, 1959. The privileged position still continues and the people of the State do not get free excess to the Supreme Court of India for the redress of the grievances. ~~Even~~ The High Courts of the Jammu and Kashmir is

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is not at parx with the rest of India, and ~~this brings them ton an inferior position, to get justice from the rest of Bharat~~. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court ~~of India~~ under artilce 136 of the Constitution of India conferring special leave to appeal is still denied to the people of the State ~~of Jammu and Kashmir~~. The judges of the State High Court, though they can be appointed by the President of India at the recommendation of the Chief Justice ~~of India~~ cannot be transferred from the State to any other State High Court ~~in the rest of India~~ morever the cases pending in the State courts can also not be transferred there. It is found that the State executive is exercising undue influence. The people in the rest of India enjoy this privilege. They get such redress whenever occasion arises. Praja Parishad, therefore, also feels impediment to end the discrimination between the people of the State ~~of Jammu and Kashmir~~ and their rest of India the High Court of the State should be brought at par with the other courts ~~rest of India~~ and the control and supervision of the Supreme Court should be complete in all respects, ~~like the rest of Bharat~~.

6 The elections in the State though have been conducted twice since the year 1951 but infact the people of the State have not been allowed the exercise of their free right to vote. The illegal, unjustified rejections of the nomination papers, the breaking open of the ballot boxes of the opposition candidates, and stealing the ballot papers ~~caste~~ cast in their favour, Hooliganism,

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goondaism, repression at the hands of so called ~~PEACE BRIGADE~~ custodians of law and order, Government interference from the lowest to the highest level are the orders of the day. The State Constitution provides a separate Election Commissioner for the State and during the first two elections the people of the State have had a very bitter experience ~~a very bitter taste~~ and now they feel that as long as this discriminatory position continues and the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India is not extended to the State and as long as the overawe of the present regime ~~Government~~ continues there can be no free and fair election, ~~as a result thereof no constitutional and orderly Government can be set up to represent the people of this State.~~ They firmly believe that along with the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India the provisions relating to the Election Commission of India be also extended to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. ~~and that the State should be brought within the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India.~~ till Article 370 of the Constitution of India is made repealed.

We at this juncture feel exaulted when we find that the age old demands of the integration of the services ~~be accomplished soon~~ have been accomplished ~~so done~~ in the recent past but this integration is not complete because the recommendations of the States Reorganization Committee are not carried in full. Whereas the said Committee has recommended that in all the States ~~it~~ at least a considerable portion of the Central Services should be from other provinces, ~~other than those where they are serving~~, ~~what~~ The cadre selected from the State of J&K have been ~~re~~posted here, after ~~having received a refresher course for a few months.~~

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~~These officers were recruited by the present Govern-ment and many of~~ These officers have ~~enjoyed and are~~ been enjoying the benevolence of the present rulers of the State and have ~~obliged them and they too have in return paid them in the same coin.~~ reciprocated the As such the people of the State have been complaining and groaning under the mis-rule of the present Government with the present set up and do not feel satisfied with the presente of the selected cadre of I.A.S. & IPS officers still serving in the State. It is now in the fitness of the circumstances and also carrying out the recommendations of the States Reorganizarion Committee into effect that it is suggested that the cadre of the State service selected in IAS & IPS and in other Indian Central services be transferred from the State to other parts of ~~the rest of India~~ Country and fresh element brought in the State from the adjoining provinces.

* 9 We cannot shut our eyes to the present circumstances in the adjoining countries to Bharat. In Pakistan the failure of democratic set up and the abrogation of the Constitution has resulted in the establishment of dictatorial set up in that country. This tendency of usurption of the constitutional rights of the people by the dictators ~~are not going~~ is likely to have no effect on the body politic of this country as well. Unless and so far the people in this part of the counry are not made to feel that their democratic rights will be safeguarded at all costs. In fact the people living in the State are deprived of their

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property, of their personal freedom and of the rights that are conferred upon them under Chapter III of the Constitution of India. The enactment of article 35-C in the Constitution of India for the State of Jammu and Kashmir only has given unfeller power to the present State Government to imprison any body and every body whom they so like. This power has been invariably misued by the rulers of the State. Even in the very recent times those who ~~axxx~~ ~~adxxxxd~~ dared to oppose the policey of the State Government are being thrown behind the bars under the Preventive Detention Act. The recent victim of this Black Act is Bakhshi Abdul Hamid. Land ~~laws~~ Reforms were enacted depriving the people of their fundamental rights to hold the property ~~xxxxx~~ ~~without giving them any compensation~~. Recruitment to the services is done on the communal basis ignoring merits which ~~in~~ has natrually resulted in the deterioration of efficiency in the administration. This deteriorated administration and inefficient officers cannot do justice to the people ~~living in the State naturally~~ they feel very much aggrieved and want a change over, which can ~~only be affected by holding free and fair impartial elections to the State where the people may exercise their gith without fear or alarm as it exists at present time. If these grievances are not redressed and the mischief is not eradicated the dictatorial tendency that have developed in the neighbouring counrty are likely to flourish causing imperel to the democratic set up in our country.

We can also not forget that one of the big powers

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surrounding Kashmir have inspite of showing good will to us have ~~taken upon themselves~~ to usurped the independence of Tibet. ~~their tiny dependency~~. The principles of Co-existence even though very loudly applauded have been brutally murdered by them. The incidents in Tibet are causing alarm to the people of the State of ~~Jammu and Kashmir~~ and especially to the Ladhakhis who owe their spiritual allegiance to the Dalai Lama ~~of Tibet~~, their spiritual head. It is also our duty to see that our neighbourers are living peacefully and that those who adhere to the principles of the Co-existence and have taken pledge to stick to it do so in action rather than by expression alone. The independence of the small countries should be protected and it can add to the world peace. It is for the Government of India to take strong steps in the direction to see that our neighbourers do feel security and protection of their independence. The matter should be taken up in the forum it deserves so that the independence of howsoever small nations may be, is respected and protected at all costs.

4// We also take the opportunity to congratulate our people for the acceptance of the other demand of application of the Census Act of India to the State ~~of Jammu and Kashmir~~ and also that the census of the state be conducted soon. ~~It is our~~ We feel pleasure to thank the Gove nment of India for the ~~in~~ having passed the Constitution (Application to the Jammu and Kashmir) Amendment order 1959 whereby they have applied the Census Act to the State. Previously during the elections there have been discriminations between the two provinces but we hope that ~~with~~ the new ~~Custs~~ Census would reveal

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the startling differences and would ensure further equal representation to the people living in both the provinces.

18 Praja Parishad had since the year 1951 criticising the planless plans adopted by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The Ist Five Year Plan which was the beginning of the first adventurous plan of the Jammu and Kashmir State resulted in utter failure but the Government instead of admitting failure other parties into confidence still embarked upon the second plan, on the same basis and without taking any consultation of the opposition parties for the framing of the progressive plans of the State. This plan too was showing the signs of failure in its very infancy and we claim that our criticism has proved true and correct when we find that Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad saying in his budget speech of 59-60 on _____ in the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly that 84 out of 92 schemes in the plans were without proper planning and of course without making proper assessment as to whether they were workable or not. This has resulted in a great loss to the State exchequer of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the money spent for the expenses upon these thoughtless plans has gone waste. Those who were responsible for such waste are criminally responsible for it and deser-ve strongest condemnation. These plans have also not improved the conditions for which they were intended taken into hand. The food situation still grows serious and inspite of the fact that a great portion of the State has gone in the hands of the enemy imports have been increasing from 3 lac

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maunds to 32 lac maunds per year. The recent rise in the prices of foodstuffs has also untold miseries and woes and the poor people and the employees, ~~in its wake~~ Instead of increasing their pays they have been ~~faced to~~ deprived of whatever they were getting by the ..... increase in the prices of the food stuffs. The improvement in production which the Government ~~would~~ contemplated ~~would have been~~ feasible by the introduction of the land reforms has also not borne any ~~improvement~~ fruit and instead we are facing decrease which clearly shows that land reforms taken into hand by the Jammu and Kashmir Government were also without proper assessment of the situation and the conditions of the State. Yet we find that ~~anyx~~ in order to hide its failure of improving the food situation the Government is now embarking upon another land reforms known as cooperative farming. This cooperative farming has in the European countries wherever taken into hand ~~has~~ ~~xxxx~~ met a ~~xxxx~~ a sad failure accept of course in USSR AND CHINA where there is a totalitarian State and not a democratic set up. In Yugoslavia, Poland this cooperative farming instead of showing any increase showed a tremendous decrease in the food stuffs wherefore the Governments of Poland and Yugoslavia gave up this cooperative farming and recognized the individual rights of holding of the tenants. After the ~~introduction~~ revival of the age old system the increase has been remarkably and much of the food crisis that had developed in those countries has subsided. The Government had direct ~~xx~~ and indirect control and ownership in the various spheres of the people life and, therefore, there has been an increase in the concentration of power. This policy instead of opening

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new avenues of progress in the under privileged sections of the society has created difficulties in the proper development of the society and has degenerated immoral and anti social tendencies in the society. Based as they are upon foreign ideologies these policies have always been .... to our national character. They have given rise to more conflicts in the peoples minds. Complete control of trade and industry has also resulted in deterioration in these establishments of society. The recent proposal of completely annihiliating the individual peasant under the scheme of cooperative farming will strike at the very roots of the democracy. The farmer will be reduced to the position of a serf and the individual liberty would be gone. In our State there was such a system in vogue in one of the districts known as Kathua but the past experience of so many years has divulged that this system is not a successful system for the food production. Before practically embarking upon this new proposal we suggest that it be not taken into hand and the lesson should be taken from the countries where it has miserably failed.

Praja Parishad thinks that the encroachment upon people's liberty is a crime against humanity and a way designed to crush the Indian values of life.

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1952

Talk of split in Parishad a loose talk
Parishad united as ever.

My attention has been drawn to an news item published in some papers of India that there exits a split in Parishad ranks over the bycott to the reception of Sadar-i-Riasat. Question of rift over such a fundamental aspects of our political idiology which has far reaching consequences does not arise at all. Rather we cannot concive of a man who, while affiliating himself to the Parisaad can have any regard for a separate head of the state. I strongly condemn such irresponsible news and declare with all the responsibilities at my back that the ranks of Parishad are united as ever and its decisions are as have been so far unanimous.

(Durga Das Verma)
General Sevretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
J_A_M_M_U.

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1952

DOGRI SANSTHA:

Dogri Sanstha is a cultural Organisation of the Dogra Pahari people of Jammu. It has been working for the last nine years for the cultural and Social advancement of our people. It is a patriotic body. It was the first to welcome the rise of popular democracy in the State in 1947 and work adtively for the spread of National Conference Movement in Jammu Province, because we believe that the consolidation of patriotic elements in the State would lend strength and stability to the forces of nationalism in India ( A copy of the appeal made to the people by the Organisation at that time is attached for your perusal). As such we alone can reflect the true aspirations of our people, their tone and temper as we alone have living contacts with them.

The proposed constitution of the State - ordinarily, we keep away from politics but when politics begins to have a vital bearings upon our future as a people, silence does not retain its attributed golden qualities. The recent announcement of Hon'ble Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg the Hon'ble Revenue Minister of the State in the Constituent Assembly that the Kashmir would be fully autonomous republic within India has raised some basic issues which shall have far reaching effect on our people and their culture. It is in the belief that the representation of the real feelings and sentiments of the people about these would be of some help to you in understanding the nature of the problem and in finding a basis for minimum working agreement, that we have taken liberty of addressing these few lines to you.

ACCESSION AND RELATIONS WITH INDIA:-

The State's relations with India are governed by the terms of the Instrument of Accession and subsequent stipulations which secure for the State a greater degree of separation than the other acceding States. An acceding state can stipulate for a greater measure of

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of autonomy than others. But there are real differences between Jammu and Kashmir about the degree and extent of autonomy secured. The degree of integration and separation can be varied by varying the number of subjects on the state list, but accession to India does not establish the State to repudiate the basic concepts of the Indian Constitution.

Most people in Jammu would like to join India as other States have joined. There is nothing communal about it. This desire is natural as complete integration with India brings some immediate economic benefits and we stand in need of immediate economic relief. But the people of Jammu will always be prepared to accomodate the other point of view and they will agree to the State retaining a larger number of subjects on the State list as a compromise. But the following basic issues admit of no compromise and the Government of India should take, therefore due note of them. Whatever, degree of State's internal autonomy we shall not subscribe to a constitution which does not provide for:-

a) Integration of State's territory with India and hence abolition of Custom or any other sendon.

b) The powers of the Union President as the supreme head of the entire territories of India including the State.

c) Jurisdiction of the Union supreme Court as the guardian of the law and constitution.

d) The fundamental rights granted by the Indian Constitution

Ruling House:-

The question of the head of the State also is not so simple. We do not oppose the dissolution of the ruling dynasty if this can facilitate the accession of the entire State to India. But the dissolution of the head dissolves the existing political unity of the various national areas. The State is in the main composed of four distinct geographical regions which had different status before they were brought together into one political unit.

1. Jammu National area, between Banihal and Ravi was a principality held by Raja Gulabsingh Ji.

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2. Ladakh was a part of Tibet but was conquerred by Raja Gulab singh in 1842.,

3. Kashmir and the Northern areas were secured through treatry of Amritsar in 1846.

4. Poonch was a Jagir of Raja Dhian singh, Raja Gulabsingh's younger brother.

With the dissolution of the ruling house the sovereighty reverts to these national areas and new unity can only be forged if the independent status of the regions is recognised and accepted. If the State is to function within Indian Constitution the removal of the ruling Prince places following constitutional alternatives before the State Government.

a) It can advise the President that he may after consulting the wishes of the people merges it with adjoining State or States.

b) It can inform the President that the state may now be admitted as Part A State.

People in Jammu would not strive for the disintegration of the State as a Unit. The State has come to them as a heritage from their illustrious forefathers. They are prepared to accept the (b) alternative in spite of the fact that merger with Himmachal would culturally and linguistically be more natural.

BOUNDRIES OF THE VARIOUS REGIONS:-

This is another very important question. It is reported that the areas between Pirpanchal and the Patni Top are being integrated with Kashmir and Rajouri and Poonch is being declared as a separate autonomous region. The creation of these regions has to be viewed from the larger interests of the security of the northern frontiers of India. We met Professor Shibban Lal Sexana some two years back and supplied him with a written note of the subject warning him that sooner or later Kashmir would declare itself to be an autonomous republic and would try to grab as much of territori--es as it can. Unfortunately, we have not the note with us. But the truth of the Statement can be ascertained by referring to Professor Shibban Lal who may still have the note with him. The people of Jammu will not submit to the

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partition of their areas and shall whatever their political belief or party alignment stake their all for the integrity of the areas between the Pirpanchal and the Ravi. The integrity of these areas is essential from India's point of view as well. This area of the Middle mountains is of great strategic importance. The Kishtwar Tehsil is the biggest and of the greatest economic and geographic significance. The great Himmalayan Zanskar range separates it in the east from Sarru and Zanskar illaqa of Ladakh and Pirpanchal to the west separates both Ramban and Kishtwar from the Kashmir Valley. The south east is bounded by Pangikulu Lahol. Thus Kishtwar occupies a very important strategic position in the geography of the regions lying north of Himmachal Pardesh commanding routes into the valley, Ladakh, Pangi Lahol and plains of the State. If this region is taken away from Jammu the security of Jammu, Himmachal and Pangi Lahol will be seriously affected. Moreover, we feel that the demarcation of the boundaries as reported in the Press divides the territories of the State into Muslim and non-muslim areas which amounts to directly playing into the hands of Pakistan. These areas are economically, culturally and geographically part of Jammu Province and on this there cannot be any compromise.

But in case India is unable to exert pressure for integration on account of any previous commitment we hope and believe that Govt. of India will help us in securing our just place in the arrangements contemplated. There is acute discontentment among the people in Jammu and a satisfactory solution of the issues raised will relieve discontent to a great extent. In case Kashmir choses to be an autonomous unit we submit an alternative arrangement which can meet the aspiration of the people of this place to a large extent. ( copy enclosed). In case aspirations of the people ~~xxxx~~/of this place are not recognised and accommodated there is a great danger of the situation deteriorating. We feel it our duty to inform the Govt. of India through you of the facts of the situation.

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- Jammu. The people

1952

## Talk of split in Parishad a loose talk
## Parishad united as ever.

My attention has been drawn to an news item published in some papers of India that there exits a split in Parishad ranks over the bycott to the reception of Sadar-i-Riyasat. Question of rift over such a fundamental aspects of our political idiology which has far reaching consequences does not arise at all. Rather we cannot conceive of a man who, while affiliating himself to the Parishad can have any regard for a separate head of the state. I strongly condemn such irresponsible news and declare with all the responsibilities at my back that the ranks of Parishad are united as ever and its decisions are as have been so far unanimous.

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I am happy to be back with my people after 8 months absence. It was a period of trial for us. We had voluntarily taken resort to the path of self sacrifice and suffering for the vindication of our right to live a life of honour and security in our own homeland as a component part of India. The way you have passed through this trial makes me proud of you. What I have seen and heard about the way you conducted the Satyagrah after my arrest has convinced me that the future of our State is secure. Our satyagraha has no parallel in the history of satyagrahas. For eight months two governments had let loose their barbaric force to crush you. But they have not been able to crush you. Rather they have been vanquished. You stand victorious.

Today the whole country is full of praise for you and the brave fight you have given to the forces of separatism and disruption. I had the opportunity to visit a few important places in north India during the last few days. Every where I found tremendous enthusiasm and genuine praise for you people. Your sacrifices have made your cause the cause of whole of India. The conscience of the whole country including the powers that be in New Delhi has been stirred and they have realised and admitted the justice of our cause and the patriotic motives that impelled us to launch our satyagraha.

What did we fight for? Our struggle was aimed at bringing Jammu and Kashmir State close to India of which it has all through the ages been integral part, geographically historically as also culturally. This was necessitated by the separatist policies of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir which were aimed at driving a wedge between the State and the rest of India. Our demand was logical and patriotic. It flowed from the fact of accession of the State to India. We were opposed to the policy of reducing that accession to a dead letter by steadily cutting at the roots of State's unity with India. The Government of India in their indulgence for Sheikh Abdullah

You people in the Jail of Ladakh.

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failed to see the dangerous implications of that policy inspite of our repeated protests, requests and warnings. They did not pay any heed to the exhartations of a patriot like Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee even. But I am happy to tell that it has been proved beyond doubt that we were on the right. The whole of India has now awakened to the dangers of systematic sep ratism of some Kashmiri politicians. It is now admitted at all hands that our movement was neither communal nor reactionary but was an outcome of the patriotic urge of the people of the State to be one with India.

That is why overtures were made to us to stop the Satyagraha. I was taken to Srinagar to have consultations with Dr.S.P.Mookerji. Pt. Nehru who for three long years refused to talk to your representatives and spoke fire against us day in and day out, stepped out of his shell of self complacency and appealed to us for cooperation and for cessation of satyagraha. He called us and heard our view point. It was a clear victory of you people. It shows that you cannot be ignored,,that you have made your existence felt. I wish he had done this a month earlier. That might have saved the country from the great tragedy of Dr. Mookerjee's death. But still it is matter of satisfaction that light has dawned upon Pt. Nehru after all.

I had talks with some other ministers of the Central and Kashmir Government as well. I do not think that I am divulging anything if I say that they have begun to appreviate our vie point. The dangerous results of the policy of drift in regard to Kashmir have already begun to manifest themselves. And they have forced them to pay heed to our warnings which had gon unheeded so far. India's stake in Kashmir is high. She cannot afford to bungle there any more. An I hope that steps to end the dangerous suspense about the future of the State will be soon taken. Jurisdiction of Supreme Court, Fundamental rights and Financial integration of the state with India are natural corrolaries of State's accession to India and I am confident that the State will have the benefit

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of them very soon.

Definite steps will also soon be taken to r move the economic and other grieviences of the people within the State. Some of them have already been taken. Something has been done to rehabilitate ex-service-men, remove controls etc. The report of the Wazir Committee which was set up as a result of our satyagraha has vindicated our stand about land reforms and other economic policies of the government.

We have stopped our satyagraha to give time to Pt. Nehru and Kashmir Government to set things right. The same patriotic motives which impelled us to launch the satyagraha 8 months ago have now impelled us to stop it even though we had the strength and determination to carry it on for many months mor . During this period Kashmir problem which had already become complicated has become delicate. Our warnings and worst fears have come true. Persons masquerading as India's friends and followers of Mahatma Gandhi have come out in their true colours. They have begun to flirt with the idea of independent Kashmir for the fulfillment of their own ambition. They have forgotten how this independence mania brought destruction to Kashmir in 1947. We are and have been opposed to it whether it comes from Pt. Ram Chand Kak or Sheikh Abdullah. I want to appeal to my Kashmiri brethren not to be exploited by such false cries. They will land them in trouble.

It is wrong to suggest that our movement was aimed against Sheikh Abdullah or Kashmiris as such. We have always looked upon Kashmir as an ingeral part of the state withing India. We extended our fullest cooperation to Sheikh Abdullah when he was installed in power. It was unfortunate that he misconstrued our willing cooperation for the common end of unity with India to be our weakness. I am sure he has now realised our strength. I want to assure him that we want to be his friends provided he gives up his separatist policies. Let him be Indian first and Kashmiri or Muslim afterwards and we are with him.

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The sufferings undergone and the sacrifices made by you people during the Satyagrah have been immense. You have faced bullets and braved all the engines of repression in the armoury of Kashmir and Indian Police with most commendable courage, restraint and discipline. By committing crimes against women the State Government has proved that it is not fit to be called a civilised government. You had the power and ability to give them blow for blow. But by suffering non-violently you have proved that you are ture satyagrahis.

But the greatest sacrifice for our cause was made by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji who died a martyrs death in a Srinagar Jail. In his death the country has paid the greatest price for Jammu and Kashmir's unity with India. The people of state will ever rember him. We will carry on his mission. It is also our desire to build befitting memorial to his memory at Jammu and Srinagar. I hope the people of the state will contribute liberally to Dr. Mookerji Memorrial fund when appeal is made for it. We are also one with the rest of India in the demand for an impartial enquiry into the mystrious circumstances in which Dr. Mookerji died.

The immediate task before us now is to re-organise ourselves. The people are with us. They have proved their faith in Praja Parishad by standing by it in thick and thin. Their strength and energies have now to be diverted to constructive work of removing powerty, disease and ignorance. The Kandi area of our land is most neglected. Its needs have to be looked into. The Praja Parishad will soon set up a committee to make a social and economic survey of the Kandi ilaqa. I will appeal to my fellow workers to make a cooperative effort in their respective sphere to ameliorate the lot of the people and share their sufferings. Service of the people is the real measure of our strength. We must now concentrate on educating them so that they may be able to discharge the responsibilities that are soon going to devolve on them in a worthy manner.

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Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. The people of the State under the leadership of Praja Parishad are determined to checkmate all efforts to break or weaken its organic relationship with the rest of India in any shape or form. The recent steps taken by the Kashmir Government towards its constitutional and economic integration with the rest of our country signify a victory of the Praja Parishad and a clear defeat of the separatist forces within and outside the State.

A natural corollary of this fact of integration is that the political life of the State be directly linked with the politics and political parties of the rest of India so that the economic and constitutional integration be strengthened through common political parties and activities as well. This is being steadily developed through the extention of the activities of the major political parties of India to the State. National Conference is already functioning as an extention of the Congress in the State. Communist party of India has created a strong unit in the State and the P.S.P. has finalised its place to open a branch in the State.

Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad which has been the pioneer organisation in the field for full integration of the State with the rest of India, has been drawing active support from patriotic elements in India, led by Bhartya Jan Sangh for which Akhand Bharat is an article of faith. As a result, the heart of Praja Parishad has been beating in union with that of Bhartya Jan Sangh for the last few year. This unity of hearts has been further cemented by the martyer's blood of late Dr. Shyam Prashad Mookherjee and Jammu martyers.

But of late some people have started an inspired campaign for confusing the public mind about the well recognised long establishment relationship of Praja Parishad with Bhartiya Jan Sangh with the set purpose of weakening it by depriving it of the support and sustenance that it has been getting from the patriotic forces in the rest of the country who are wedded to the cause of Indian

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Unity. If they succeed intheir plan, Praja Parishad will will become an isolated local party in the mercy of Cim Communists-cum-communalists rulling clique of the State- incapable of getting help from any National party of India, all of which except Bhatyya Jan Sangh have thier own brances in the State . If has therefore, become imperative for Praja Parishad to clerofy its stand about the relationship with Bhartiya Jam Sangh in unequivocal lines so that there should be left no room for confusion about it and the dobh created by the interested parties in persuit of its policies of divide and rule , be set at rest and for all .

This council therefore resolves that Praja Parishad being organizationally and ideologically closer to Bhartiya Jam Sanh than any other Political Party of India and in view of its existing , though informal relation-ship with that organization must be organically linked with Bhartiya Jam Sangh . It cause upon the President of the Praja Parishad to approach fthe authorities of Jan Sangh to formally affiliate Praja Parishad with All India Jam Sangh upon the understanding that the formar - All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad - would have its own already framed constitution, own existing flag, and independent local policies and full right of secession.

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Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. The people of the State under the leaderhhip of Praja Parishad are determined to checkmate all efforts to break of weaken its organic relationship with the rest of India in any shape or form. The recent steps taken by the Kashmir Government towards its constitutional and economic integration with the rest of our country signify a victory of the Praja Parishad and a clear defeat of the separatist forces within and outside the State.

A natural corollary of this fact of integration is that the political life of the State be directly linked with the politics and political parties of the rest of India so that the economic and constitutional integration be strengthened through common political parties and activities as well. This is being steadily developed through the extention of the activities of the major political parties of India to the State. National Conference is already functioning as an extention of the Congress in the State. Communist party of India has created a strong unit in the State and the P.S.P. has finalised its place to open a branch in the tate.

Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad which has been the pioneer organisation in the field for full integration of the tate with the rest of India, has been drawing active support from patriotic elements in India, led by Bhartya Jan Sangh for which Akhand Bharat is an article of faith. As a result, the heart of Praja Parishad has been beating in union with that of Bhartya Jan Sangh for the last few year. This unity of hearts has been further commented by the martyer's blood of late Dr. Shayma Prashad Mookerjee and Jammu martyers.

But of late some people have started an inspired campaign for confusing the public mind about the well recognised long establishment relationship of Praja Parishad with Bhartiya Jan Sangh with the set purpose of weakening it by depriving it of the support and sustenance that it has been getting from the patriotic forces in the rest of the country who are wedded to the cause of Indian

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Unity. If they succeed intheir plan, Praja Parishad will will become an isolated local party in the mercy of Cim Communists-cum-communalists rulling clique of the State- incapable of getting help from any National party of India, all of which except Bhatyya Jan Sangh have thier own brances in the State . If has therefore, become imperative for Praja Parishad to clerofy its stand about the relationship with Bhartiya Jam Sangh in unequivocal lines so that there should be left no room for confusion about it and the dobh created by the interested parties in persuit of its policies of divide and rule , be set at rest and for all .

This council therefore resolves that Praja Parishad being organisationally and ideologically closer to Bhartiya Jam Sanh than any other Political Party of India and in view of its existing , though informal relation-ship with that organization must be organically linked with Bhartiya Jam Sangh . It cause upon the President of the Praja Parishad to approach fthe authorities of Jam Sangh to formally affiliate Praja Parishad with All India Jam Sangh upon the understanding that the former - All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad - would have its own already framed constitution, own existing flag, and independent local policies and full right of secession.

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Following is the full text of the Statement issued by L. Durga Dass Verma, General Secretary, All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad, Jammu.

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Few days back a great alarm was sought to be created by Mr. Ram Piara Saraf by introducing an adjournment motion in the so called Jammu & Kashmir Constituent Assembly, for dicussion of an alleged throwing of a "bomb" on the house of a National Conference Worker. He attempted to make the Himalayan of a mole hill in giving an absolutely baseless and mischievious account of a trifle incident and staging a walk-out on rejection of the motion by the house.

The facts ascertained by me by a searching inquiry on spot through my own agency show beyond any shadow of doubt, that the whole story is far from reality. The explosive named as a "bomb" was a country made harmless small "Patakha" not susceptible of any human injury.

The allegation of the Hon'ble member that the above explosive was thrown by some Praja Parishad worker from outside is belied by the very situation of the house itself because an outside throw is not possible from any direction. The son of the said prominent national conference worker is a known mischievious boy interested in explosive preparations. Few years back he was wounded as a result of such an experiment. Being afraid of his parents the boy gave the present explosion this fabricated version.

In face of these facts Mr. Ram Piara Saraf, the mover of the motion has behaved in a most irresponsible, sentimental and prejudicial manner. The exploitation of this trifle incident in levelling charges of violence on the Praja Parishad reflects the mentality and the standard of the Hon'ble member, who is also a prominent member of the National Conference High Command.

Praja Parishad condemns and challanges this baseless allegation and would welcome an indipendent inquiry into the matter to bring the facts to light.

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JAI BHARAT

Madan Lall

Publicity Secretary,
All J & K Praja Parishad, Jammu.

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Yesterday, on the 11th of April 1954, the Jammu and Kashmir Backward classes Union Jammu held a grand March of all the backward classes (mazdoor and kisans March) in which about twenty thousand people from all parts of the State including over three thousand women and children joined. The March, with great enthusiasm, slogans (Mazdoor Ithad Zinda Bad, Bharat Mata Ki Jai, Rashtrapati Ki Jai, Sadar-i-Riyasat Zinda Bad, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad Zinda-Bad, Bakhshi Wazarat Zindabad etc.,) started from grounds of the Government Gandhi Memorial College ~~and~~ at 12.45 P.M. under the lead of Shri Kartar singh, General Secretary of the Union, and passed through Raghunath Bazar, Purani Mandi, Moti Bazar, Kachi Chhawni, Parade Ground and gathered at Ajaibgarh Ground at about 2 P.M. where an open meeting was held. Shree Madanlal President of the Union took the Presiding chair amidst applauds and cheers. Shree Kartar singh General Secretary commencing the meeting function gave in elaborate terms, the deeply felt necessity of forming the Backward classes Union of the Jammu and Kashmir State, which classes have been groaning under the oppression and unjust treatment of the people, who, besides having all along been reaping the fruits of the blood-sweated labour of the former, have deprived the latter of even humani--tarian privileges and rights. These backward classes are deteriorating in their economic and social life in so much so that other classes and Smaj have not extended them any place to sit among them. Different political parties and organisations have exploited them to get their support and backing by putting them under the sheer hallucination of bettering their miserable plight. But they are still going down and down. The General Secretary continued that it was a fortunate day for them that they had realised the importance of unifying themselves in an undisruptable strength. Now, when they had realised to the very depths of their hearts that any delay to make them stand on their own legs was most detrimental to their very existence, they should stand united and resolved to go ahead for achieving their denied human rights of existence and progress. Referring to the benign activities of the Bakhshi Wazarat in removing heavy taxes, opening new schools and colleges, dinking wells and canals, laying roads, opening Ayurvedic and Unani dispen--saries and meeting with a generous heart the needs of the people, he demanded from the Bakhshi Government that these backward classes be ameliorated economically by providing them compulsory education, industrial loans, lands for cultivation scholarships for technical training, seats in local bodies and State Assembly, employment in Government services and extending to them an all out co-operation in bettering their lot as early as possible.

A resolution was also moved to represent to the Govt. for an early grant of the above urgent demands of the people. It was seconded by Shri Sain Das and other leading members of the backward classes and was passed unanimously by a show of hands and applaud.

Songs concerning the unity of backward classes were recited by Shree Harbans Lal, Durga Das Khaki and others.

The President addressed the gathering in bringing them to the very immediate and essential task of unifying themselves and thanked them for their wholehearted devotion to make the March and meeting a grand success. He reiterated that Mazdoor is the only constructing arm and force of the country and that the progress of the country as well as themselves lies in their hands only. He asserted that it would be most unfortunate the backward classes allowed themselves to lag behind in the race for progress and that they should not fall to the manoevourings of the other political exploiters when they have themselves seen the light with open eyes out of the past experience.

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He referred to the provisions contained in the Constitution of India for bettering the lot of backward classes and for which a Commissionex appointed by the Government of India is touring various places. He demanded from the Bakhshi Government that a Backward Classes Welfare Commission be appointed with inclusion of representatives of the Backward classes Union so that effective betterment may be made in their plight.

Alluding to his recent coming out from Praja Parishad and groundless propaganda in the air, he emphasised in strong words that his reason for coming out of the Praja Parishad was a matter of principle as there had been serious conflict in the basic principles of democratic significance in the working of the Parishad. He warned the propagators to stop this propaganda immediately otherwise he will have to disclose the relative facts leading to his coming out from the said party.

The meeting dispersed very successfully with slogans of Bharat Mata Ki Jai, Backward Classes Union Zinda Bad, Rashtrapati Ki Jai, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad Zinda Bad, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru Zinda Bad etc.,

Dated Jammu
12.4.1954.

General Secretary,
JAMMU KASHMIR BACKWARD CLASSES UNION
JAMMU.

Copy to:-

1. The Hon'ble Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, J&K Govt., Jammu, for favourable necessary action and ackgt.
2. The Editor _____ for favour of ~~publishing~~ publication please.

General Secretary,

12.4.1954.

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Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhya, Member of the Constituent Assembly of India submitted the following confidential report on Feb.16, 1949 on his visit to Jammu to the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly. It was later published by the ' Nation ' of Calcutta.

Along with Dr. Raghuvira, M.C.A. I reached Jammu before noon on the 12th of Febuary. We stayed at the Cosopolitin Hotel there. Traders, students, congerssmen, members of the National Conference, Lawyers, Harijans, refugees ffom Mirpur and Poonch areas, women's branch of National Conference and people representing various intrests came to meet us at the hotel. We visited the office of the National Conference and also took the opportunity to meet Sheikh Sahib at his residence. The people with whom we came in contact were all hindus. We had neither opportunity nor time to meet the Muslims.

We found that Sheikh Sahib was highly respected by the Hindus; but they have numerous grievences against the adminstration. They are conscious that the present same government should be strengthened by them in order to win the plebiscite. But surprisingly enough, we found that the Hindus without any exception spoke with disappointment about the prospect of winning the same . They were outspoken in their confirmed opinion that whatever Sheikh Abdula might say, not many Muslims would vote in favour of India This is their strong conviction acquired from their daily direct contact with the mu. m of the locality. They said that between Sheikh Abdulla and Maharaja, the people were overwhelmingly in favour of the former. But if it were a choice between India and Pakistan, not even ten per cent of muslims would for India. This assertion by some responsible people , has really surprised us and we are hastening these lines to inform our Govt. about it.

The people of Jammu are very eagre that there should be a separate Plebici. for that Province minus the Area now held by the Azad Kashmir Govt. Their opinion is that if separate voting is not arranged province of Jammu will be lost to India. They are hopless about Kashmir but keen about Jammu getting joined to Indian Union.

People complained to us about open propaganda of Sheikh Sahib and his party for deposing the Maharaja. They are greatly disturbed about it and their fear is if the Maraja is made to abdicate and the Jammu State also goes over to Pakistan, on account of the Plebicite, the Hindus will have to migrate to India and the History of west Punjab will be repeated both as regards massacre and displacement of population. The demand of Sheikh Sahib to depose the Maharaja has made the Hindus panicky to the extent of what we have seen in the case of citizens of non regulated areas during the British Administration The Hindus, for whatever reason it might be, considersk that their future is blasted, in India that the [illegible] Jammu, public opinion is smothered and there is

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State at present. They complaint is that too much eagerness to appease Sheikh Sahib in order to win the plebicite through the strength of his personallity has not been balanced by any enquiry as to how the minorities feel about the administration. They urged that important people from India should come and see their lot and acquire direct knowladge about their future Plebicite without depending exclusively upon what the Govt of Kashmir report about the matter.

In our talk with Sheikh Sahib, we found him over zealous about the abdication of the Maharaja. He holds him responsible for the massacre of muslims in the State. He demands an enquiry and , if need be , a trail. He spoke in clear terms taht if the Maharaja was not deposed, he could not with any certainty, sufficiently inspire the muslims to vote for India and make sure of the victory. We were told by the people that open propaganda was beeing carried on by Sheikh Sahib and the National Conference to depose the Maharaja. We were furthus told that at mohalla meeting of the National Conference in Jammu City the resolution for the abdication was defeated by 18 votes to 3.

We need not say anything about the corruption in the administration as it was reported to us. But we felt outside people ha d not so far come much in contact with the Hindu massas there. To get a correct idea as to how they feel a some responsible people should go there and independantly meet the people and form their opinion both about the administration, future plebicite.

They gave us some names, who, in co_operation with the raiders and Pakistan army, were responsible for the massacre of innumerable Hindus, but now have been placed in responsible positions in the very same area, as the result of which refugees are reluctant to go back to their old places.

The people of Mirpur say that a very big number of their women are being held in the area now administered by the Azad Kashmir Govt. If provide unto military escorts, they are too eagre to go and search them out.

It was a general complaint that the Govt, was partial towards the Kashmir Province as compared to Jammu. In Kashmir the supply of commidities is much better and the prices thereof are much cheaper though Kasmir is furthur off from India wherefrom the supply goes.

They have begged of us that one or two important legislators and Congress Leaders from India should visit Jammu and acquire direct knowladge of the place so that there may be no occasion to lament later on if even Jammu is lost to India in the fr Plebicite.

In conclusion, I would like to mention that Kaviraj Vaishno Gupta, a refuge from Jammu living in Dehli, accompanied us afeter getting necessary permit. It was through his efforts and some others also that we could come in contact with large

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of people representing various interests. The police at Jammu endorsed our permits on our return journey but his was not endor at that time on pretext of local enquiry. On reaching Dehli on the night of 13th Feb. I received a telegram informing that he has been arrested.

P.S. I am further informed that three M.L.A's, one Vice President of Jammu Municipality and a B.A., B.T. teacher, have afterward been arrested.

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The Jammu and Kashmir state being an integral part of Bharat from times immemorial the people of the state are indissolubly linked with other Bhartyas so far as their traditions political, cultural and economic life is concerned.

In the year 1947 due to the barbarous attack of Pakistan on the state of Jammu and Kashmir , Sheikh Abdullah was brought into power much less by force of circumstances , but much more by bond of true love of Pandit Nehru . This Sheikh,as you all now know with the help of his communal and selfish party men started the game bargaining both with Pakistan,who plundered the wealth,modesty and beauty of our mother land, and with India, who actually brought him out of Jail and brought him to this created position of Prime Ministership of J&K state . This fact influenced the rather timid leaders of India to appease and grant a special status to this state where communists and communalists gained power day by day.

Intoxicated with power , this ruling clique, instead of developing the state , engaged themselves in making fortunes for themselves and their kith and kin and their party men. In order to have a free hand in the state affairs they manipulated to make the state a seperate indipendent unit. Their unchecked dictatorial powers were used to suppress the civil liberties of the people by enacting repressive laws of the dark ages . Corruption partiality and nepotism became rampant everywhere. Things came to such a dangerous pass that Praja Parishad had to give them a tough fight . Thrice the innocent Dogras were mercilessly belabboured, children teargassed and women folk molested . All this did not quench their thirst but during the last Praja Parishad Satyagrah precious young lives of 15 Dogras brave men were sacrificed to unfold their natorious plans. Their last and severest blow was on the brightest gem of Bharat Mata.

From the very beginning of its regime the National Conference had a very bad record of unfair practices. In the last general elections it again came to power through their very means of brute force and illegally rejecting Nomination papers of Praja Parishad candidates ,and prepared a seperate constitut

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their designs and tactics to win the election in an unfair and highhanded manner. In fact the past experience of the people of the State is painfully and eye opener to them and that is why they want the coming election to be conducted under the supervision of the Election Commissioner of India. The illegal rejections of the nominations of the opposition candidates and force of sealed ballot papers bundles in numbers as the recent Jammu Municipal election, a day previous to the election to the members of the ruling party to be cast in favour of their candidates are a few instances of the Fair and Foul way in which Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd intends to conduct the coming election to the Assembly in the State. It is Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd who may after disturb the peace in the State rather than peace loving population living therein.

The Revenue Prime Minister Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd is a separate entity in election Commissioner. In fact the State where the citizens are demoralised and used to serve their party purposes. Justice is delayed and sometimes denied in many a cases. The position of the High Court has been reduced to a mere nothing in as much as that cannot transfer a Munsiff. Their court could pronounce the orders of the Government they are not deemed to be re-strictive interference has been increased in such an extent that a time is not far off when the people have to decide on a best course to be taken to rid of the circumstances they are passing through. It is not the question of the accommodation of the Kashmir by the instead of the compromise desired by the Kashmir Prime Minister but it is an matter of principle which has not to be compromised. Such the Kashmir Prime Minister's separatist tendency. The country as a whole is to be kept in tact without discriminatory treatment to the inhabitants whether it may be Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd or Sheikh Abdullah or any body living in the rest of India.

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gain National Conference candidates successful at all costs.

11. Tempering with the counting was the naked violation of all canons of justice by the presiding officers which was done in almost all cases.

12. In case of ward No:- 10 when counting was going on, lights were intentionally put off to achieve their ends. Besides that the votes were not counted in the presence of the candidates and their signa tures were not obtained on the counterfoil of the last vote polled. On recounting in the presence of the candidate the votes of Doctor Om Prakash Mengi were found more by 103 votes, than the previously counting. But the votes of the National Conference candidates were not recounted even on the request and protest of Dr. Om Prakash Mengi the contesting candidate, which was an unheaded procedure.

The emergency meeting of working committee of the All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad strongly condemns the action of the govt. and its appointed officers and demands the appointment of the officer of the status of a judge of the High Court to go into the above mentioned malpractices and irregularities with a view to redress its grievences. ~~Kindly to appoint a Tribunal jurisdiction of the Election Commissioner of India be extended to the State and feels that nothing short of that can meet~~ the urging demand of the people who have no confidence in the present set up in the set up. Secondly it demands that an election commission of persons of the status of a judge of a High Court be appointed forthwith to decide the election petition.

The working committee further resolves that a deputation should be sent to Delhi to ventilate the grievences of the people of Jammu. The working Committee thanks the people of Jammu who have voted for the Praja Parishad candidates and others who have been forcibly denied the right to vote and whose ballot boxes even though have been purposely tempered with.

It appeals to the people to remain calm and peaceful in all circumstances till further step is decided upon whence Justice becomes obscure to us.

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Since the year 1941 ~~there has been~~ no regular census has been conducted in the State ~~which has resulted in the gross inappropriate representation of various provinces in the Legislature and elsewhere.~~ During the last Election in the State Legislative, the Constituencies were constituted in an arbitrary manner without keeping into consideration the population in the various parts and constituencies. This meeting of the Praja Parishad resolves that with a view to give proper effective representation to the various ~~people~~ parts in the State, new census should be conducted ~~so that different provinces may get due representation in the Legislature on the basis of population~~ before elections are held.

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On the 8th of February 1952 the students of Jammu took out a procession in sympathy with their comrades who had been on hunger strike since the 29th of January to mark their protest against the heavy fines imposed on their leaders for raising objection to the hoisting of the party flag of National Conference along with the National Tri-colour on the occasion of a Physical Display in the college on the 15th of January. The procession which was proceeding towards the Secretariat to place the Students case before the Cabinet was five times lathicharged and thrice fired upon by the State police before it dispersed.

This incident was followed by a 72 hours Curfew in Jammu city which was literally handed over to the army. The press note issued by the Jammu & Kashmir Government after that incident charged the Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad, with a design "to subvert authority and bring into existence chaotic condition in the State." This was followed by mass arrests of Praja Parishad leaders and workers, both male and female who have all been detained without trial. Jammu & Kashmir Government has since been persistently decrying, the Praja Parishad as having instigated the students.

The Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad is the only political party in opposition to the National Conference the party in power, in the state. It wants the Jammu & Kashmir State to be fully integrated with India like other acceding States, demands the application of the Indian Constitution to the State in its entirety as against the conditional and limited accession for which the National Conference stands at present.

The Praja Parishad, as will be clear from the perusal of statement of our President, Pt. Prem Nath Dogra and the resolution of Praja Parishad working Committee of 25th February 1952 given in the succeeding pages, had nothing to do with the students movement. The Kashmir Government has wilfully misrepresented the whole situation to implicate Praja Parishad in it with a view to suppress it. This is why the Parishad demands an impartial Commission consisting of High Court Judges

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from India to go into the whole matter. The Jammu & Kashmir Government if it has any genuine proof against the Praja Parishad must not hesitate in acceping this most democratic and rational demand of the Parishad which has been supported by the press and public opinion of the rest of India as well.

Institution of such an Enquiry Commission will in no way infringe the rights of the State Government. Such Commissions were appointed on more than one occasions by the previous autocratic regime of the Maharaja. The present democratic regime of Sheikh Abdulla, therefore should not feel shy of instituting such an Enquiry.

The Praja Parishad is Conscious of the delicate and difficult situation in Jammu & Kashmir State. It has been its endeavour, therefore, to voice the feeling of the people it represents in most peaceful and constitutional manner. But unfortunately the men in power do not want it to exist at all. That explains enforcement of Section 50 of Defence Rules of a war time measure, which has completely curbed the civil liberties of the people. Such a thing can in no way help in restoring the conditions of peace, harmony, goodwill between the Government and the people so badly needed at the present juncture.

An open Enquiry into the present incidents and its back ground will enable the true facts of the situation to come to light and will be helpful in removing much of the misunderstanding about the Parishad which has been caused by its systemic misrepressention for some time past. The Praja Parishad therefore hopes that the people of India including the Jammu & Kashmir State will appreciate the Parishad's demand for an independent Commission to Enquire into the Jammu incident.

Full Text of the Statement issued by Pt. Prem Nath ji Dogra, President Praja Parishad, Jammu on 8-2-52

Praja Parishad circles are shocked to read the Government Press note dated 8-2-52 in the last para of which the Government has charged that the demonstrations by the students of the college and schools, both boys and girls are organised and inspired by the Praja Parished organisation which wants openly to subvert authority and bring into existence chaotic condition in the State.



This is a mere travesty of facts and is intended to bring into disrepute the only opposition party in the State The true facts are that the Parishad has all along extended fullest co-operation to the Government and has never done anything subversive to the authority. The Praja Parishad is out and out for bringing in harmonious and peaceful conditions in the State and welding together all dissident elements. Its pro-India stand is the only cause of the cold war that is being waged against it by the party in power. Inspite of so many provocative speeches and statements issued by the Government the Parishad never deviated from its peaceful path.

I want to make it known to the public and Government that my organisation has no hand in the students movement and it kept aloof all the time. The Parishad with all the emphasis at its command demands that an independent Commission may be appointed to enquire into the false and unfounded accusations levelled against it. To prove the bonafides of the Government against the Jammu people, the recent utterances of the Hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister before the respectable citizens of Jammu on the 7th Feb. 1952 should serve as a pointer. Therein he openly threatened the Jammu people that he would destroy the country lockstock and barrel and make it over to Pakistan.

Dated Jammu the, 8th Feb, 1952

Sd. Prem Nath Dogra,
President
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

**Resolution passed by Working Committee of Praja Parishad, on 25-2-52. at Pathankot**

The Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad during the past four years of its existence as the only party in opposition in the State has successfully worked for creating political awakening in the people particularly those living in Jammu Province who are comparatively backward because no political party had worked among them before the Praja Parishad. It stands for a progressive economic programme, a broad and non-sectarian social out look and close integration of the whole of the State with India like all other acceding States. It wants full application of the Constitution of India to the State and is opposed to the semi-independent state for which the party in powe has been working.

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This patriotic and pro-India stand of the Parishad has made it suspect in the eyes of the party in power. It has been trying to suppress Praja Parishad in different ways. The leaders of the Parishad were arrested, detained without trial early in 1949 and were not released until the Praja Parishad launched a mass Satyagraha movement. The Praja Parishad was forced to boycott the elections to the Constituent Assembly by rejecting 44 out of 49 nomination papers filed by Praja Parished nominees on most flimsy grounds. To keep the voice of Praja Parishad out of the Indian Parliament it plans to nominate the State representativs to the Indian Parliment instead of holding an election for the purpose. The Praja Parishad has been corresponding with the government of India on the question of election of State representatives to the parliament. It was as it should, educating the public opinion in the state as well in favour of election of the State representatives for the Parliment instead of nomination. All this was being done by the Parishad in the most peaceful and constitutional manner.

The Praja Parishad had nothing to do what so ever with the present happenings in Jammu, which began on the 15th of January when the students of the local Govt. College protested against the hoisting of the party flag of the National Conference along with the National Tri-colour. Its leaders and workers scruplously kept themselves aloof. As citizens some of the leaders of the Praja Parishad did lend their helping hand to the authorities to end the student's agitation. They even succeeded in envolving an agreed compromise formula which was approved by the Deputy Commissioner of Jammu and other authorities on the 6th February. But Bakhashi Gulam Mohammed the Deputy Prime Minister who returned to Jammu the same day torpedoed the efforts of citizens and rejected the Compromise formula evolved by them. That created a constirnation among the students and parents and relatives of the hunger-striking students and resulted in the demonstration of 8th February which was crudely mishandled by the authorities.

The way the Jammu & Kashmir Goverament has exploited the situation to suppress the Praja Parishad is no secret now. It has let loose a reign of terror on the



people of Jammu. Scores of men and women workers and sympathisers of Praja Parishad including our President Pt Prem Nath Dogra have been arrested and detained without trial. Warrants of arrests or externment orders have been issued against hundreds of others. All this, the Praja Parishad is convinced, has been done with a set plan to crush the Parishad. The ban imposed on the 'Milap and Partap' urdu Dailys of Delhi most widely circulated in the State and which voiced the feeling of the people of Jammu is an additional proof of it.

Praja Parishad Working Committee strongly condemns these most undemocratic and Fascist methods of the Kashmir Government. It challenges the Government to place any evidence it has against the Parishad before any court of law. It demands of the government to institute an Independent Enquiry Committee to look into the happenings of Jammu, release Praja Parishad leaders, cancel warrants against others and remove ban on the entry of Milap and Partap in the State.

The Committee also prays to the Government of India to take a realistic view of the situation of Jammu. Parishad is a friend of India, a better friend we claim, than the National Conference. It espouses the cause which is dear to every Indian today. The Government must protect and respect the legitimate rights and aspirations of the people of Jammu and not ride roughshod over them to please the party in power.

The Committee further takes the opportunity to thank the public and press of India who have sympathised with the just and patriotic cause of the Parishad and hopes that the Indian Public will continue to extend its helping hand to the Parishad in the achievement of its patriotic objective of making the Jammu & Kashmir State one with India exactly like the other acceding States.

## Tribune Dated 11 - 2 - 52

### Need for enquiry

A 72 hour curfew was imposed on Jammu following the unruly demonstratinos by what has been described a violent crowd of 2000 demonstrators who tried to force their way into the secretariat. The demonstartion which was staged on Friday on a small scale inside a local

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College as a protest against the imposition of fine on two students is reported to have culminated in a procession towards the secretariat in defiance of the District Magistrate's order banning meetings and processions. In the way, so the report says, the demonstrators among whom were also women, attacked police officers and men on duty, and on reaching the secretariat they indulged in open lawlessness. The police made two lathi charges and fired two rounds to disperse the mob and bring the situation under control. Bk. Gulam Mohammad Deputy premier of Jammu and Kashmir has stated that it was an organised attempt on the part of Praja Parishad to subvert authority and create counfusion in the State. The Government according to him is holding enquiries into Friday's incidents and will make the findings public at the proper time. The press communique issued by the State information Bureau and the statement of the Jammu District Magistrate show that the trouble was brewing over since Jan. 15 when 10 to 15 students in the Government college in Jammu demonstrated against the National Conference flag along side the Indian Union flag. Some of the student demonstrators were punished with fines. The District Magistrate alleges that a large crowd of students mobbed the Cinema halls in an attempt to force admission at concession rates and that in consequence he had to impose a ban on meetings and processions. If all the facts released by the Government are correct the Praja Parishad stands condemend. No Government will and can spare an organisation which resorts to or instigates violence to attain its objectives. A spokesman of Praja Parishad the leaders of which are now under arrest has however denied that the Praja Parishad had anything to do with the demonstrations. He says "To say that the Parishad had organised demonstrations is a travesty of facts and intended to bring into disrepute the only opposition in the State. Mere assertions on one side and denials on the other do not lead to any positive conclusion, especially when the question of law and order is concerned. In the circumstances the only way to reach the truth is to hold an *Independent Impartial and sifting Enquiry into the whole affair.* According to Bakshi Gulam Mohd. the Jammu & Kashmir Government "was in possession of the pre-arranged plans of certain political parties in the State to subvert authority and bring about



a state of confusion." That is all the more reason why an enquiry should be ordered. Once such an enquiry estabilshes the fact that the Praja Parishad had deliberately incited the forces of lawlessness and that it wanted to subvert authority by resort to violence it will be discredited for all times to come and will lose whatever support it has.

**National Herald Dated 12-2-52**

The Parishad has denied having had anything to do with the demonstration and demanded an impartial enquiry into the false and unfounded allegations levelled against it. Subject to the demands of security a thorough enquiry is called for and that there was a prearranged plan to create confusion in the State and if the statement of the Principal of the Government Gandhi Memorial College about Parishad workers having taken active interest in the students agitation is based on facts the Government will be strengthening its own position by ordering such an enquiry.

**Hindustan Standard. Dated 10-2-52**

If the Parishad has been at the back of the deplorable happenings in Jammu city, with intent to subvert authority and create chaos in the State, it deserves the strongest condemnation. In the interest of security to Kashmir, in which the whole of India is vitally concerned the serious charge made against the Parishad should be fully investigated and, if it be found true, suitable action should be taken. The question of proof however remains. We hope the Government of Jammu and Kashmir as well as that of India will publish the evidence in possession to establish the charge as true. That publicity will itself be a corrective. Things hatched and nursed in the darkness of secrecy usually fade within the sunlight of publicity. And the earlier it is done, the better.

**Searchlight Patna Dated 13 2-52**

The disturbances in Jammu City on Friday last which necessitated lathi charge by the Police and calling in of 72 hours curfew was unfortunate in the extreme. According to a Press Note issued by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir the demonstrations were organised by the Praja Parishad, but a leader of the later organisation has catagorically denied the charge. Whosover inspired and organised the violent demonstrations did

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the State no good. One wonders if communists had not had a hand in misleading the students. An enquiry into the incident should unravel the mystery.

**Amrit Bazar Patrika** 13-2-52

The disturbances according to the press note recentally issued by the Kashmir Government were organised and inspired by the Praja Parishad "which wants to subvert authority and bring into existence chaotic condition in the State." Several leaders of Praja Parishad including its President have since been arrested and Bakshi Gulam Mohammad Deputy Premier of Kashmir has expressed his firm determination to maintain law and order in the State. But why do the Praja Parishad and its Political association create condition in the State? What are their grievances? What are their Political aims and plans? If they have been indulging in subversive activities to gain their political ends what precautionary measures have the Government Jammu and Kashmir taken to keep them in check in future? No light has been thrown in these matters till now either by the authority of the Kashmir Government or by any spokesman of the Parishad. It is therefore only logical to expect that an adequate explanation will soon be forthcoming from the State Government.

**Shri Shibban lal Saxena's speech in the Parliament**
3-3-52

It has been tried to be made out that if was a movement without support. But the admission that a thousand Hindu ladies took part in the protest procession in which thousands of other people also took part. That in fact the Indian military had to be called in to control the situation, shows that the movement had a large public appeal behind it. There is therefore a clear case for a public inquiry to discover the truth. I hope Sheikh Abdulla will appoint a committee which will inspire confidence and will see that such things do not happen again. I had hoped that he would set standards which other people would follow. I am disappointed. If such things had happened in our Indian provinces, the whole country would be shaken. I expect that in Jammu he will try to deal with the situation with tact and intelligence and see that the present tangle is soon resolved.

Statement made in the Parliament by Shri H. V. Kamath on Jammu affair during the general debate on Budget for 1952-53 on 3-3-52. He said :-

"..... My Hon. friend Prof. Shibben Lal Sakesna has referred to Jammu & Kashmir and I would not repeat the points that he has made out. But I would certainly say that I hope that our troops and our armies in Jammu and Kashmir will not in any way lend themselves to be used or exploited for the suppression or for dealing with the internal disturbances in Jammu-Kashmir. And I would like to say, before I close, that it is rather a paradox that the Praja Parishad of Kashmir which stands for complete integration of Kashmir with India and even the abolition or deletion of Article 370 from the Constitution should be looked down upon as a hostile body.

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The Resolution of General Comment of P.P. after the ratification of state's access to India in 1954.

P-37 after reference (91) just after Pt. P.P.V. letters to Bakshi 1-2-54

Meanwhile the Consembly of J&K ratified the state's accession to India on Feb 6, 1954.

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To endorse the ~~occasion~~ accession issue which had been completed with the Maharaja's signing of the Instrument of accession, a Constituent Assembly was convened. The elections for the ~~sae~~ said were held. Circumstances were created to confirm the belief that they were not being conducted in a free atmosphere. The Praja Parishad had to boycot it because there was no alternative in these circumstances.

The General Council demands that since the purpose of the Constituent Assembly has been fulfilled, new elections be held affording opportunity to every individual citizen in the State to take part in the legislatures of the State.

1954

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L. D. Dass verma's statement of 26-1-53

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FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY SHRI DURGA DAS VERMA GENERAL SECRETARY OF PRAJA PARISHAD J_A_M_M_U. ON 26-1-1953.

**************************

Whereas I hesitated to react over the recent utterence of Pt. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah as except acknowledging "legitimate economic grievences of the Jammu people" the remarks passed and motives attributed by the two leaders to the existing mass unrest in the state showed little desire on their part to meet or consider the fundamental demand of the State people to be one with India;__ the political capital that certain opportunits have hastened to make out from these makes it imperativ for me to express our view-point unequivocally.

While we consider the timely reference to the deteriorating economic condition of the masses by so exaulted a personality like Pt Nehru, who has closely concerned himself with this unhappy affair, a step forward and that we are really heartened to note this welcome change in the Government of India's attitude;__ but the institution of an commission to go into the economic side of the causes of present discontent and to recommend ways and means for its removal, as suggested by some self-installed groups, is tentamount to the gross betrayal of the real urge of the people.

Ever since, in accomplishment of our cherished mission to effect the unconditional accession of the State with Bharat on the confidence of the unquestionable support of the masses, we have had to warn the struggling people not to be hoodwinked by such piece-meal maneavours of the ruling clique. In the context of present events it is my considered opinion that the exceptional and disciplined mass-uprising has dewindeled the ~~funda~~ fraudelent-mansion of the party-in-power. All encounters and shameless attempts hither-to employed without least regard for democratic decency to create dissentions in the united front, the masses have so eloquently staged, the rulers of the state in their vain attempt to divert and confuse the public mind have taken recourse to such undemocratic tactics. It is their last bid to foil the determined effort of the suffering millions.

Economic distress apart, the political dead lock between the people of Jammu and the party-in-power has reached a stage, where these eye-wash measures are likely to aggravate further the

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tyrannical rule of one party dictatership, we look upon them as part of the suffering people. The Government by resorting to such propaganda want to shift the outcome of its erroneous policies over us.

In all humility I call upon every Kashmiri, whenever he is to understand the true perspective of our life and death struggle launched for (1) full and unconditional accession to India (2) application of Indian constitution and Indian flag over the State.

Viewing on this plan there is nothing p rovincial or communal in it. Every patriot having faith in the secular constitution of India must extend all possible to our movement. Mutual distrust at this juncture of our country is highly -- deplorable. There lies the salevation of the State.

Durga Das Verma

(Durga Dass verma)
GENERAL SECRETARY
ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD
JAMMU

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Vide A

SYNOPSIS FOR PH.D. REGISTRATION

TITLE: A STUDY OF INDIVIDUAL AND CO-OPERATIVE LEARNING STRATEGIES, ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, SELF-CONFIDENCE, ATTITUDE AND SOCIOMETRIC STATUS OF LEARNING DISABLED AND NORMAL CHILDREN.

Comments & Suggestions
[illegible] 21.4.01

Alternative topic

A study of effect of Individual and Cooperative learning strategies on Academic Achievement, Self-Confidence, attitude and Socio-metric Status of learning Disabled and Normal children.

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## Introduction

Placing Disabled students in a regular classroom is the beginning of an opportunity to influence disabled students' lives deeply by promoting constructive relationships between them and their non-disabled peers. Like all opportunities, however, integration carries the risk of making things worse as well as the possibility of making things better. If integration goes badly, disabled students will experience increased stigmatization, stereotyping, and rejection. Even worse, they may be ignored or treated with paternalistic care. If integration goes well, true friendships and positive relationships will develop between disabled and non-disabled students. The essential question is, what does the regular classroom teacher do to ensure that integration goes well? The answer to this question goes beyond constructive teacher-student interaction and providing students with appropriate instruction materials. The answer fs found in how relationships among students are structured.

Integration is based on the assumption that placing heterogeneous students (in terms of disabled conditions) in the same school and classroom will facilitate positive relationships and attitudes among the students. Yet, there is considerable disagreement as to whether there are conditions under which physical proximity between disabled and non-disabled students will lead to constructive relationships. The lack of theoretical models and apparently inconsistent research findings have left the impression that integration may

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not be working and may not be constructive. One of the key factors identified by the research as determining whether integration promotes positive or negative relationships among heterogeneous students is whether students cooperate, compete, or work independently on their academic assignments. By structuring positive, negative, or no interdependence among heterogeneous students during academic learning situation, teachers can influence the pattern of interaction among students and the interpersonal attraction that results (Deutsch, 1962; Johnson and Johnson, 1975, 1984a; Johnson, Johnson, Holubec and Roy, 1984).

For the past 45 years competitive and individualistic goal structures have dominated Indian education. Students usually come to school with competitive expectations and pressures from their parents. Many teachers have tried to reduce classroom competition by switching from a norm-referenced to a criteria-referenced evaluation system. In both competitive and individualistic learning situations teachers try to keep students away from each other. "Do not copy", "Move your desks apart", and "I want to see how well you can do, not your neighbour", are all phrases that teachers commonly use in their classrooms. Students are repeatedly told: "Do not care about the other students in this class. Take care of yourself!"

When a classroom is dominated by competition, students often experience classroom life as a "rat race" with the psychology of the 100 yards dash. When a classroom is dominated by individualistic efforts, students will concentrate on isolating themselves from each other, ignoring others, and focussing only on their own work.

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Many students begin to compete within individualistic situations, even though the structure does not require it.

There is a third option. Teachers can structure lessons cooperatively so that students work together to accomplish shared goals. Students are assigned to small groups and instructed to learn the assigned material and to make sure that the other members of the group also master the assignment. Individual accountability is checked regularly to ensure all students are learning. A criteria-referenced evaluation system is used. In a cooperative learning situation students' goal achievements are positively correlated; students perceive that they can reach their learning goals if and only if the other students in the learning group also reach their goals. Thus, students seek outcome that are beneficial to all those with whom they are cooperatively linked. Students discuss material with each other, help one another understand it, and encourage each other to work hard.

Cooperative learning is the most important of the three ways of structuring learning situations, yet it is currently the least used. In most schools, class sessions are structured cooperatively only for 7 per cent to 20 per cent of the time. Cooperative learning however, should be used whenever teachers want students to learn more. The research indicates that classrooms should be dominated by cooperation among students (Johnson and Johnson,1983). This is especially true when disabled students are being integrated.

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## Statement of the Problem:

Study of Individual and Co-operative Learning Strategies, Academic Achievement, Self-Confidence, Attitude and Sociometric Status of Learning Disabled and Normal Children.

## Significance of the Study

1. The study is basically diagnostic endeavour to modify theoretical and practical unity to learning the desired results.
2. The study will provide better instructional material to teachers, educationist and school policy makers.
3. Co-operative learning, however, can be used whenever teachers want students to learn more, like school better, like each other better, have higher self-esteem, and learn more effective skills.

## Objectives:

1. To identify learning disabled children in Subject " social studies at the fifth grade level.
2. ? To study the academic achievement in selected areas in social studies of learning disabled and normal children studying through individual learning and cooperative learning strategies.
3. To study the level of self-confidence of learning disabled children studying through individual and cooperative strategies.
4. To study the socio-metric status of learning disabled

Objective 2 needs to be reset as Selected areas does not convey proper meaning.

objectives 2 needs to be reset as selected areas does not convey proper meaning

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The students of Vth ~~St~~ grade may not be able to reveal their attitude as their level of understanding about ~~Stand~~ ~~Pena~~ phenomenon may be vague so measuring attitude may not be appropriate



students in individual and cooperative learning situations.

5. To study the attitude of learning disabled children towards individual and cooperative learning strategies.

6. To undertake a qualitative analysis of behaviour attention span, etc. of learning disabled children; and the teacher's management of cooperative learning during cooperative learning sessions.

Hypotheses

1. Learning disabled children studying through cooperative learning strategy would have higher academic achievement than that of students studying through individual learning strategies.

2. Self-confidence of cooperative learning group would be higher than those studying through individual learning.

3. The sociometric status of cooperative learning group would be higher than that of individual learning group.

Delimitation of the Study

1 The study will be confined only to 5th class students of central school and public schools of Delhi/Haryana State.

2 The area of grade 5th in social studies to be administered to defect learning disabled students. having disability in learning

Define operational terms used in title

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Design

1) Population and Sample:-

Five Central Schools/ Public Schools in Delhi/Haryana State shall be selected randomly from which 50 learning disabled children 10 from each school studying in grade 5th shall be identified, on the basis of intelligence test, diagnostic test and teacher's reactions. From the same five schools, 100 normal children (20 from each school) of grade 5th shall be randomly selected for a comparative study. 10 teachers involved in cooperative learning experiment would be selected for qualitative analysis.

It will be fine if you spell out the method of random sampling to be chosen.

ii) Tools and Techniques

The following tools shall be used in the study:

(a) Diagnostic test to be developed by the investigator ~~in the area of grade 5th~~ for measuring of the students studying in 5th Grade and will be social studies to be administered to defect learning disabled students

(b) Wescheler Intelligence Test (revised) to be adopted to test intelligence and defectives of learning disabled students.

(c) Self-confidence Rating Scale to be developed by the Investigator for measuring self-confidence of students.

(d) Attitude Scale to measure attitude of learning disabled students studying through cooperative learning strategy towards various learning strategies.

It is difficult to measure attitude of 5th Class Students

Kindly check up what is correct learning disability among students or learning disabled students

To me first is more preferable

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(e) Sociometric test to be developed by the investigator for ascertaining the socio.metric status of the learning disabled students.

(f) Achievement test on selected topics of social science to be developed by the investigator.

Research Design

(a) This will be a post-test and design in which after the identification of learning disabled students, one selected topics of social studies ~~will be taught~~ alone individually (individual learning strategy) for an hour each topic, after which achievement test would be administered. The other group of 25 learning disabled students shall learn through cooperative learning strategy. (one an half hour each topic in which half an hour is for discussion among peers) after which achievement tests would be administered Before this, the teachers would have been oriented towards both the learning strategies, and their intervention at the time student learning and testing in the classroom would be very minimal. While individual learning disabled students shall study and be tested along with normal 100 students, the cooperative learning learning disabled students shall study and be tested in a separate room in the conceived school.

Some vagueness there

(b) Following the above, the individual and cooperative learning disabled students shall be administered self-confidence rating scale, attitude scale, and socio-metric tests.

(c) During the experimentation, observation of students and

Research Design needs to be properly delineated because there are some gaps in understanding the procedure to be followed in Individual learning as well as in Cooperative learning strategy.

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Hard to measure teachers behaviour is not understood



teachers behaviour shall be undertaken by the investigator, this shall be followed by personal interviews of students and teachers with regard to the sixth objective of the study.

In total, the experimentation period would be about six months.

## Analysis and Interpretation

1) Statistical techniques of standard deviation and 't' test will be used to identify learning disabled (LD) students to analyse achievements, self confidence, attitude and socio-metric status of students (learning disabled and normal students).

2) Qualitative analysis shall be undertaken with regard to the sixth objective, which shall lead to development of a strategy to provide further staff developkent input to teachers and compensatory remedial education for the learning disabled students.

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His Excellency the President of Indian Union,
New Delhi

May it please your Excellency,

In connection with the constitutional proposals which have been recently made by the J&K State authorities to the Central Government, this representation is most respectfully submitted on behalf of the Praja Parishad of that State for your Excellency's kind and sympathetic consideration.

II There is no doubt that these proposals constitute a little advance on the existing position. And, coming, as they do, in the wake of the decision of J&K Constituent Assembly to confirm and finalise the accession of this State to the Indian Union, they have been welcomed, not because they take us far towards our goal, but because they seem to have been conceived in a different spirit from that which animated the Abdullah Government.

III Amidst this chorus of praise it seems almost churlish to strike the jarring note of critical appraisal, but this is a duty which the Praja Parishad owes to the People whom it represents. They have consistently demanded that the Indian Constitution be made applicable to this State just as it applies to the other Part 'B' States. In the pursuit of this objective they have undergone great sacrifices and sufferings, being convinced that without achieving it, there can be no peaceful and honourable life for them in this State. They were led to entertain certain hopes by definite assurances, but these proposals do not come anywhere near their fulfilment. Consequently, the people affected by them have on the whole received them with mixed feelings including those of frustration.

IV In certain circles there is a tendency to dismiss the demand mentioned in the preceding paragraph as a problem for legalistic or academic discussion and to ignore its human aspects, but those who have raised it are indeed earnest about it. To them it is a matter of life and death; and they are

Continued Page -2-

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determined to persist in it regardless of the sufferings and sacrifices which this course might entail for them.

V It is a pity that the Central Government have never enquired from the proper quarters why this demand is being made and how far it is justified. On the contrary, they have been more responsive to the opposite demand of the National Conference leaders, which is to the effect that this State should have a special privileged status different from that of the other 'Part 'B' States'. The wonder is that it has never occured to the otherwise wide awake Central Government that, in the ultimate analysis, both these demands, so contradictory in their formulation and intent, really spring from similar apprehensions. But the fears of the Kashmiri leaders are wholly baseless, because admittedly they have received the most generous treatment from the Government and the people of India during the last six years and more. On the other hand, the apprehensions of the Jammu people are fully justified by the experience they have had of "So called Popular rule" during the same period. They have been reduced to the level of political untouchables in their homeland. Their genuine voice has been effectively shut out from the Constituent Assembly. The Government formed by the Conference Party is neither responsible, nor responsive, to Jammu people. The doors of Government services are closed to them, and those already in service are being pushed out. The administration is corrupt and inefficient and it is difficult for the common man to obtain redress in the ordinary course. Naturally the Jammu people seek the protection which some provisions of the Indian Constitution, and some organs of the Central authority, might possibly afford them. But the Kashmiri leaders desire to retain the best of both worlds; they demand autonomy for themselves in relation to the Central authorities of the Indian Union and at the same time they stick to undiluted autocracy in the shape of an unalterable fixed majority in relation to the Jammu people. In fairness they should accord the same treatment to the latter

Continued sheet -3-

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as is demanded by them for themselves from the Indian Union. This legitimate demand of the Jammu people is sometimes ignored on the false plea that it is confined to reactionary, communalist, and vested interests.

VI The problem that has arisen between Jammu and Kashmir is essentially the same problem as has emerged between the whole State and the Indian Union. And fortunately it is also the problem that the Indian Constitution was devised to solve. Its wise framers were faced with the rival claims of competing elements in the body politic and they arrived at a nice adjustment of those claims in the frame work of that Constitution. This nice balance and adjustment makes it eminently fitted to provide a solution of the essentially human problem that faces us in this State. This is a strong reason why a solution of this problem should be attempted by applying the Indian Constitution in its entirety to this State.

VII Viewed against the above background the unsatisfactory character of the new proposals becomes quite apparent. In-as-much-as they disturb the nice balance of adjustments that the Indian Constitution in its entirety was intended to be. They mutilate its organic unity ~~[illegible]~~ without leaving a fair working arrangement. They seem to have been cleverly devised in order to achieve the following objectives, namely:-

(1) To retain as much power as possible;

(2) To part with as little of it as might be inevitable;

(3) To let qualifications and exceptions swallow that is conceded;

(4) To make the powers retained the clear monopoly of an unassailable fixed majority; and

(5) To ensure that the resulting set up shall not be altered without the consent of that majority.

VIII Some of the expedients adopted by the framers of these proposals in order to achieve the above objectives are mentioned below, viz

(1) Fundamental rights have been whittled down and reduced to a mockery;

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(2) The jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court have been curtailed to prevent effective enforcement of fundamental and other rights;

(3) Full control over the State High Court has been retained in order that the local judiciary may not become truly independent and embarrass the executive authorities;

(4) A sort of dual citizenship has been created, within the Indian Union to its eternal shame and humiliation

(5) One way traffic from Pakistan in the matter of settlement within this State has been provided for;

(6) Direct elections to the House of the People from the State have been avoided, in order that the authentic voice of the people of this State may not be heard even in the Indian Parliament;

(7) The powers vested in the central organs of authority in the Indian Union in relation to the other "Part B States" have been curtailed even in matters of common and national interests where uniformity of action is necessary;

(8) The status of the Sadar-i-Riyasat has been made inferior even to that of a Governor, and his position precarious by leaving him at the mercy of a prejudiced and an unalterable fixed majority in the local legislature;

(9) Even the Delhi Pact has not been fully implemented;

(10) Certain provisions of the Indian Constitution which are applicable to this State at present are proposed to be repealed;

(11) The capacity and powers of the Indian Union to take prompt and effective action in relation to this State at times of emergency have been crippled;

(12) Provisions relating to effective and independent audit and financial control have been omitted; and

(13) Drastic and confiscatory "land reform" laws are proposed to be legalised.

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IX There are several other objectional features of these proposals but it is unnecessary to detail them all. Some of them will, however, become apparent as the succeeding detailed scrutiny of the proposals proceeds. Enough has, however, been said to show that these proposals give no indication of its framers being grateful for the generous treatment which they have received. On the contrary they betray great distrust of the various organs of the Indian Central authority including the Parliament, the President and the Supreme Court.

X Such an important matter as Constitution making should have been circulated for public opinion before being finally passed when it is an admitted fact that this Assembly is composed of one party alone. The Constitution should not have been conceived and hatched in a secret manner behind closed doors, without associating any person unconnected with the Government or the Assembly even in an advisory capacity at any stage of their formulation or consideration. These facts should persuade the Government of India to examine these proposals with special care and consult the Jammu opinion before accepting them finally.

XI Some points calling for consideration which the detailed scrutiny of these proposals has revealed, are briefly noted below:-

(1) Article 3 of the Indian Constitution:-

The new ~~provision~~ proviso which it is proposed to add to this Article will in certain respects overlap the existing proviso.

(2) Part II of the Indian Constitution:-

This part is to apply to this State from January 26 1950, but the State acceded to the Indian Union from October 26, 1947. What will be the status of the people of the State between these two dates. Will they be deemed to have been aliens during this interval.

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(5) Article 7:-

It is proposed to add a new Proviso to this article. Even Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, Ex-Prime Minister of the State, knew that the policy underlying the proposed Proviso might cause apprehensions in certain quarters. He tried to allay these fears in the statement which he made before the State Assembly on August 11, 1952, in the following words:-

"It has been suggested in certain quarters that this protection has been provided only for those residents of the State who are at present stranded in Pakistan. I would like to make it clear, as I have stated earlier, that this protection will operate only when the conditions are normal and such conditions naturally presume that the resettlement of the dislocated population, whether Muslims or non-Muslims cannot be one sided or unilateral."

If such is still the intention it should be clearly and expressly stated in the Proviso and not left hanging in vague declaration of the Prime Minister. Secondly, as the new Proviso will operate to confer Indian Citizenship, and also because its subject matter deals with, and affects, foreign relations, the law which is to regulate this matter should be enacted by the central, and not by the State Legislature. Thirdly, as the conditions are not likely to become normal in the near future, there need be no desperate hurry in adding this proviso; it can be added when the conditions become normal. Lastly, it should be kept in view that that part of the Jammu and Kashmir State which is at present in the occupation of Pakistani Forces and which is sometimes misdescribed as the "Azad Kashmir territory," is not identical with, and should not, therefore be confused with the territory now included in Pakistan." The

Continued sheet -7-

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framers of the proposed proviso have ignored this distinction. They probably had the former territory in view but have used the latter expression to describe it. They seem to have fallen into this error because they have copied blindly the language of the existing proviso without realising that it becomes inaccurate in the context in which they have used it. In view of these complication, and also because there is no real urgency, it seems expedient to drop the idea of adding the proposed proviso to Article 7.

(4) Article 19 (fundamental rights).

The practical effect of adding the new clause (7) to Article 19, as has been proposed, will be that for five years there will be no "fundamental" rights in the State, and thus what was intended to be granted under clause (1) will have been taken away under Clause (7) for that period. It is of the very essence of the "fundamental" rights which are provided in the Indian Constitution, that the Legislature should not have the absolute power to impose such restrictions on their exercise as the courts consider to be unreasonable. If the Legislature is made the sole absolute judge of the reasonableness of any restrictions which it might deem fit to impose on their exercise, then such rights cease to be "fundamental" and become ordinary legal rights. It would be more honest way of dealing with this matter if the proposed clause (7) were to be worded as follows:-

"(7) For a period of five years those citizens of India who (unfortunately) happen also to be the permanent residents of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, shall not exercise the rights conferred under clause (1), except to the extent to which the legislature of the State may, in its absolute discretion, permit them to do so."

As the discretion is not to be "Judicial", it need not necessarily be judicious and may be capriciously exercised.

continued sheet -8-

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(5) Article 22 ( Preventive detention)/

The proposed amendment is neither necessary nor fair; but, if it must be made, its duration should be limited to a period not exceeding five years.

(6) Article 31 ( Property rights)

Clause (3) of this Article should not be omitted as has b been proposed. In the first place, it provides a safeguard which certainly is not less necessary in the case of this State than it is for the rest of India. Secondly, in the matter of land reforms it is desireable to aim at a measure of uniformity. Thirdly, it is not clear why this clause is proposed to be omitted when the Proviso to to clause (1) of Article 31-A is being retained, as both refer to similar matters.

(7) Article 31-A ( Acquisition of Estates):

The proposed definition of " Estate " is needlessly and unfairly too wide. Secondly, the definition of Estate" given in our law relating to land tenures ( Tenancy Act) which is saved by the existing sub-clause (a) of clause (2) of Article 31-A could have served the purpose in view. Thirdly, it is undesire--able to provide a fixed definition of"Estate" in the Constitu--tion itself, because it may become necessary to very the defini--tion from time to time, or place to place, or in order to suit various purposes:but constitutions cannot be easily amended eve even when it become necessary to do so.

(8) Article 35-A ( privileges of State " Subjects)

This article, if added, will creats duel citizenship and retard the growth of common nationality and classless society. It will be a bar sinister on the Indian escutcheon and a disfi--guring blot on the Indian constitution. Secondly if its ~~xxxxxx~~ addition is unavoidable in view of the present mood of the Kashmiri leaders, its duration should be limited to a period not exceeding five years . Thirdly, even in that case, sub-caluse (iii) of Clause (b) should be omitted, because " settlement" is a vague term, and it is not at all clear what it is intended to include over and above that which is already ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ covered by sub-clause (i) ,(ii) and (iv) . Fourthly, it should

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58

be stipulated that subclause (iii) must not be used to impose new, or enlarge the existing, disablities. Lastly . the saving grace of Article 35-A should be limited to existing laws, and should not cover laws imposing new, or enlarging the existing, disabilities.

(9) Part (iv) Article 36 to 51 ( Directive Principles) .

If these articles are proposed to be omitted it is a matter for profound regret. These have been evolved after mature thought and long experience , and should guide the course of legislation and administrative action in every enlightened State, There should be no hasitation is adopting them because they are directory, and not mandatory in the sense of being justifiable.

(10) Articles 54, 55 and 81 ( Parliamentary Elections)-

In the first place, it is unfair to deprive the people of the State of their right to choose by direct election their representatives in the House of the Prople. When direct elections were held for the State Assembly, electoral rolls were prepared on the basis of adult franchise. Such rolls can be prepared also for the Parliamentary elections. If the population of the State can be assumed to be 44,10,000 for purposes of Article 55, as has been proposed, there is no reason why the the same figure should not be adopted for purposes fof Article 81, , Secondly, it would be a misnamer to categories the representatives of the State as " elected" members for purposes of Article 55, as has been proposed, when , at the same time it is being clearly provided under article 81, that they shall be"appointed" by the President. Their status will still be that that of " appointed " (i.e. nominated) members even though they might have been appointed on the recommendation of the State Legislature. At present they are " chosen by the President in consultation with the Government of the State" . But it is now proposed that " they shall be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Legislature of the "State". It would be simpler to say that hereafter the representatives of this State in both the houses of Parliament shall

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be elected by the elected members of the State Legislative Assembly. Thirdly, it is wrong to provide in the Constitution itself that the population of the State shall be deemed to be 44,10,000. This figure is bound to vary frequently but the Constitution should not include frequent changes. perhaps, the best expedient would be to make a temporary provision on the lines of Article 357, until a regular census can be held in this State.

(ii) Article 73 ( Executive power of the Union).

This article is at present in force without any modification in this State by virtue of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1950. But it is now proposed to repeal certain words from the Proviso to clause (1) of this article. No reason has been given for the proposed repeal, and none is apparent. Considering that clause 1 (a) deals with matters with respect to which the Parliament has power to make laws, and that the whole of Article 73 deals with the extent of the executive power of the Union, it would be better either to omit the proviso altogether or to leave it unmodified. Any tempering with it might make matters worse.

(12) Article 136 ( Special leave to appeal by the Supreme Court

Under Article 136 the Supreme Court is empowered to grant in its discretion, special leave to appeal before itself, but it is proposed to omit this article and deny this power to that court in relation to this State. This would be a very unwise and serious omission. Without this power the extension of the jurisdiction of that Court to this State will remain illusory, and the people will not have full confidence and assurance that they are getting justice and protection of their rights like other citizens of India.

(13). Article 139 ( Additional powers of the Supreme Court).

This article is applicable to this State at present but is now proposed to repeal it. Obviously this is a a retrograde step and should be avoided.

(14) Article 149 and 150 ( Comptroller and Auditor General)

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It is necessary to apply these articles to this State in the interest of sound financial administration and economy. as th the present state of affairs in this respect is far from satisfactory. Secondly, such application becomes almost inescapable now that the State Government is going to getits share from the common pool of certain central taxes. As the taxed to be so shared are raised from the people of India as a whole, all of them as tax-apyers are entitled to the assurance and protection which these articles are intended to supply. Thirdly, the Central Government would be failing in its d duty if it did not satisfy that the funds supplied by it to the Government of this State were being utilized properly for the intended purposes. This duty the Government of India can discharge effectively only if these articles are applied to this State.

(15) Article 255

Article 255 applies to this State under the President's Application Order of 1950, but it is now proposed to omit it. There is no justification for such omission.

(16) Article 259 .

Article 259 applies at present to this State subject to the specified modification , but it is now proposed to omit it it altogehter . The retention of this article is very necessary.

17) Article 261.

The whole of this article applied at present to this State but it is now proposed to omit the words " made by Parliament" from clause (2) of it. This proposal seems to have been made in ignorance of the scope and purpose of clause (2) . If the manner of, and the conditions for, proving public acts, recode and judicial proceedings of the Union and of every State. ( including the Jammu and Kashmir State) are to be regulated for the whole of India on a uniform basis, as they should be, evidently the only law that can do this effectively and appropriately is the law made by Parliament. Therefore, it is clearly to the adventage of all concerned that this article

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should continue to apply without any modification to this State, as it does at present.

(18) Article 291 ( Privy Purse Sum)

This article should be retained subject to certain obvious modifications.

(19) Part XVII ( Official Language):

This part should be made applicable to the Jammu and Kashmir State for all purposes. Considering that Urdu is not the spoken language of any considerable section of the people in any part of the State, its imposition as the official or regional language of the State and as the medium of instruction in schools or in colleges , will not be fair. In any case, Hindi should have equal status with Urdu in this respect, if not throughout the State, at least in the Jammu Province. The medium of instruction in the Primary or basic classes should be the mother-tongue, but the guardians should have the option of declaring the mother tongue of their words . In any case, whatever is adopted as the official or regional or mother-language in the State or any part of it. it should be permitted to be written both in Arabic and Hindi characters at the option of the persons concerned ,and its teaching should be arranged and permitted in both characters.

(20) Part XVIII (Emergency powers)

It is proposed to omit Articles 356, 357 and 360 and to amend article 352. Under article 355which is being retained, it is the duty of the Union to protect this State, not only against external aggression, but also against internal disturbance and also to ensure that the Government of this State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The President of the Union will be deprived of the power to act effectively and promptly, in discharge of the duty imposed under articel 355, if articles 356, 357 & 360 are omitted amended in the manner proposed. There should be no divorce between responsibility and power. This Part should apply to this State in its entirety without any modification.

(21) Part XIX Article 361 ( Sader-i-Riyasat)

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There should be no confusion, vagueness or fonflict about the the position of the Sadar-i-Ryasat, but such is likely to be the the result if reference is retained to the State consitition i in the new clause (5) which it is proposed to add to this article. Keeping in view his position and functions, he should be free from local influences and harassment. Experience of the action he had to take in the recent emergen--cy should suggest caution in this respect.

(22) Article 362.;- The retention of this artivle is necess-- ary for reasons which are obvious.

(23) Article. 365.

It is necessary to retain this article if the powers of th the Union Executive under the Constitution are real and not illusory; if it is not to be exposed to mockery and reduced to impotence in relation to this State: if , in the absence of an effective sanction, its lawful directions are not to be flouted with impunity; if its duties and responsibilities under Article 355 are to be carried out satisfactorily; and if the Government of the State is to be carried on in accordance with with the provisions of the Constitution.

(24) Articel 372

Article 372 makes mention of Article 365. This referance is inappropriate because Article 395 is proposed to be omitted.

(25) Article 374 ( Advisory Board)

It is proposed to amend Clause (4) of Article 374 in order to provide for the abolition of the State Board of Judi--cial Advisors and the transfer the appeals pending before it fo for disposal to the Supreme Court of India, but this is likely y to make matters worse in one respect. The Board's present jurisdiction is wider than that proposed to be conferred on the the Supreme Court. This will result in greater finality attach--ing to the decisons of the local Courts, because fewer appeals will lie to the Supreme Court than lie to the Board at present. Moreover, the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in relation to the Jammu and Kashmir Courts will not be as wide as that which it exercises in relation to the courts of the

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other States. The provisions contained in chapters V and VI of Part VI read with Part VII of the Indian Constitution relating to Judiciary are not being made applicable to the judiciary of this State. It cannot, therefore, be pretended that the judiciary of this State including its High Court will commend the same measure of confidence and prestige which the judiciary of the other States commands . If the confidence of the people in the Justice administered in this State is not to be undermined, it is necessary that this State be brought up to the level of the level of the other States by applying to it all the provisions of the Indian Constitution relating to Judiciary just as they apply to the other Part " B" States. At any rate the present position when the Advisory Board is functioning, is much better than that which will result from these proposals after the Board has been abolished.

( 26) Article 387:-

This article should be retained until a new regular census has been completed in this State, because, until the , there should be some provision in the Constitution under which authoritiative estimates of its population could be made. and varied from from time to time, for purposes of elections. Of course some modification of this article will be necessary in its application to this State, because the three years' period mentioned in it has has already expired. The estimate of 44,10,000 proposed for purposes of articles 54 and 55 cannot remain a fixed figure for all time, and will have to be changed from time to time, but it should not be necessary to amend the Constitution itself every time a correction of this figure becomes necessary.

(27) Schedule VII List I, Entry NO. 3

This entry at present applies to this State without any modification, but it is now proposed to curtail its scope considerably. There is no apparent reason to justify this course. The expression " administration of cantonements" is not wide enought to cover all the functions included in this entry. Evidently, the Army authorities need comprehensive powers in this respect. It should not be forgotten that this State is

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small war area and that the opposing armies are on each other on its borders.

(28) Schedule VII, List I Entry No:9

This entry is applicable to this State at present, but it is proposed to omit it altogether, without the slightest justification. It should be retained, because its subject matter is connected with Defence, Foreign Affairs, and the Security of India, which are the exclusive concern of the Union.

(29) Ninth Schedule

As many as six laws of this State are proposed to be included in this schedule. It is inequitable and unnecessary to protect some of these laws in this manner. In particular, the Distressed Debtors' Relief Act, the Alienation of Land Act and the whole of the Tenancy Act need not find a place in this Schedule.

Yours Faithfully.

Dated 1-4-54.

Sd/-
( Prem Nath Dogra)
President
Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parished

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To

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant,
Home Minister,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Respected Sir,

Jammu and Kashmir State constituent Assembly is expected to finalise the Constitution of the State shortly. In this connection we would like to place the following submission before you.

We had submitted a memorandum, a copy of which is attached herewith, to the Honourable President of India on 1. 10. 1954 regarding the draft proposals that were then formulated by the State Constituent Assembly about the Constitution for the State.

We had then submitted that we are opposed to the Jammu and Kashmir State having a seperate constitution distinct and different from the Constitution of India in the making of which the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir State had also taken part. We had then made it clear that Praja Parishad which has the backing of a large majority of the people of Jammu province at least is definitely opposed to any distinction being made between Jammu and Kashmir State and other constituent units of India because that would perpetuate the sense of separation in a large section of the people of Kashmir which is being exploited by Pakistan to the detriment of the interests of Kashmir State as also of India as a whole.

We do not know as to what is the exact character of the Constitution now being drafted by the Kashmir Government. But indications are that they propose to stick to their original plan of making the Constitution

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for Jammu and Kashmir distinct and different from the Constitution of India in every material respect. We have learnt from reliabe sources that it does not provide for the auditing of State accounts by the Auditor General of India nor does it accept the supervision of Election Commission of India over the elections in the State. The appointment of the judges of the State High Court is being left in the hands of Sadre-Riyasat who is elected by the legislature and is not a nominee of the President and that Supreme Court of India is not being given full jurisdiction over Kashmir. Elections for the State representatives to the Lok Sabha are sought to be kept indirect as heretofore and no provision for reservation of seats for Harijans through double member constituencies is being made. The present practice of reserving some constituencies exclusive for Harijans deprive non-Harijans of these constituencies of the right to stand for election in their home constituencies.

All this is most perturbing. We have had quite long experience of the highhanded way in which the present State Government has been playing with the rights, honour and liberties of the people of the State. The experience of the recent Municipal and Panchyat elections in the State has confirmed our fears and doubts about the totalitarian aims of the men now in power in the State.

We have been putting up with all this in the hope that the dark night will after all end and we will be able to breathe fresh air when the State is fully brought under the Constitution of India. But that hope is becoming dim and the prospect of perpetuation of the present one party oppressive regime is looming large before our eyes. This has naturally made all the freedom loving and democrat

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minded people of the State desperate.

We, therefore, beg to request you to see that these objectionable features of the proposed constitution of the State are removed and that it is brought completely in line with the Constitution of India.

Yours sincerely,

Dated. 24th. July, 1956.

(Prem Nath Dogra),
President,

All Jammu and Kashmir, Praja Parishad.

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STATEMENT ISSUED BY PT. PREMNATH DOGRA ON 12.6.1952
PRESIDENT PRAJA PARISHAD.

Events are moving post haste in our State. Momentous decisions are being rushed through by the uprepresentative Constituent Assembly of Sh.Abdulla at Srinagar: The first instalment of which (State Flag) was dished out to us on saturday the 7th of June 52 and the 2nd (Ruling Dynasty) is being presented to us on a platter of challenge in a day or so.In onebreath of heated passion the C.A. was made to vote a New Red Flag in placeof the time honoured State Flag and as a rival flag of Union of India to which we have acceded.

sensing that such an unhappy step was being takenby N.C Constituent Assembly, I apprised the President of Indian Union, the Prime Minister of India and other top ranking political leaders in time and besought them to intervene in the larger interests of the people, the State and the Union of India especially in view of the fact that Kashmir dispute was still pending with the security council and any in-cautious step taken or any undersirable measure adopted may not adversely affect our vital interests.

Since the provocative decisions of the C.A. have caused deep resentment throughout and particularly in the province of Jammu, I have summoned my Executive to meet on 14th & 15th of June to discuss the State Flag, the position of the Ruling Dynasty, future relations of Jammu with the rest of State and other very important matters concerning thewelfare of the country and its people as a whole.

In order that people of Jammu Province may not give any individual expression of resentment or take any step without due consideration as a mark of protest against such narrow-sighted and ill-conceived decisions of the one party Constituent Assembly or the irritating speechesof its members (which are infalliably relayed on the Govt. Radionof Kashmir), I appeal to all my countrymen to remain quiet and await the instructions of the P.P.Executive.

Jammu;
12.6.1952

Sd.Prem Nath Dogra,
President,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad.

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P-13 After 12.53

To

1. Shree Dr., Rajendra Prasad Ji,
Rashtrapati, Indian Union,

2. Shree Jawaharlal Ji Nehru,
The Hon'ble Prime Minister,
Indian Union,

3. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju,
The Hon'ble States Minister,
Indian Union.

NEW DELHI.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

THE future of the Jammu and Kashmir State, particularly its relationship with India is a matter of vital and paramount importance to the people of the State. The people of Jammu are particularly anxious to ensure that their State becomes firmly and finally a permanent Unit of the Indian Union and are prepared to pay any price for it.

It was this anxiety to be one with the rest of India that induced the people of Jammu to offer their fullest cooperation to the Kashmir National Conference when powers of day to day administration were transferred to it by the Maharaja at the behest of the Government of India. This was done in the hope, that the leaders of the National Conference would overcome their past prejudices against the Dogras of Jammu and carry the whole people of the State with them to achieve the common goal of full accession to India.

But unfortunately Sheikh Abdullah's Government not only failed to appreciate this cooperative spirit but even mistook it for a sign of weakness and adopted a policy of systematic deliberate discrimination and repression against the people of Jammu Province generally and their representative body the Praja Parishad particularly. This ~~repr~~ oppressive and discrimi-
-natory policy extends to all spheres of political, economic and cultural life of the people and even amounts

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(Amounts) to interference in their religious life.

4. In the first place the civil liberties of the people of Jammu, their freedom of speech and their right to participate in formulating and if necessary of criticising Government policies particularly those relating to the relationship of the State with India in a constitutional manner, have been completely denied and effectively curbed by frequent arbitrary use of Section 50 of the Defence of Kashmir Rules, and the Public Security Act. Not content with this wholesale suppression, Abdullah's Government has started a regular campaign of harassment of the people by initiating general censorship of press post and telegram and introducing measures whereby the relatives of the Praja Parishad people are made liable to lose their appointments and pensions. There are cases where such steps have already been taken. As a result, the voice of the people, who are dissatisfied with the present policy of limited accession and want closer and complete union with India, has been completely gagged. Newspapers that dare criticise the Govt. have been suppressed and silenced. The Indian Newspapers that happened to be sympathetically critical of the policies pursued by the Kashmir Govt. have been banned in the State. The President of the Praja Parishad and his co-workers have been repeatedly arrested and detained without trial for long periods. Recently, in February, this year, the Students' Agitation against the use of the Party Flag at a public function in place of the State Flag was made an excuse to adopt repressive measures against the Praja Parishad and a veritable reign of terror was let loose on the people of Jammu. A number of its prominent workers were externed from the State. This has made the condition of the people much worse than it was even under the old autocratic regime. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have no fundamental rights and cannot approach even the Supreme Court of India for protection.

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5. In the educational sphere systematic effort has been made during all these years to break the linguistic and cultural ties that bind the State with the rest of India. Hindi occupied an equal place with Urdu in the educational life of the State before accession. Now it has been completely relegated to the background. Urdu has been made the official language of the State and the medium of instruction in the Schools. Even the Text Books meant for girls are full of difficult Persian and Arabic words which even the Teachers do not understand. Urdu has been made a compulsory subject for the Matriculation Examination. A sense of Kashmiri Nationalism, as distinct from Indian Nationalism, is sought to be created through the books prescribed for the school going children.

6. Among the seven men who constitute Text Book Committee of the State, there is not a single person belonging to Jammu or to the minority community.

7. A separate University for the few Colleges of the State has been established entailing heavy burden on the State Exchequer only to cut off the educational and cultural ties which a common University created between the students of the State and of India. Even the Examination papers are set with the object of creating anti-Dogra feeling in the examinees as will be clear from a perusal of English Paper B, for the Intermediate Examination 1952 of the J&K University.

8. In the administrative sphere, the Party interests have been carefully nursed at the expense of merit, fair-play and the wider interests of the State. Recruitment to the services used to be made through open competition or on merit and seniority during the Maharaja's Regime. Now, the only qualification for winning or retaining a public office is party affiliation. Almost all the key-posts are held by men from the Kashmir Province. Sheikh Abdullah has publicly declared that he wants the party and the

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(the) Government to be managed entirely by the same personnel, ignoring that this practice is followed in totalitarian States. Communalism, against which Sheikh Abdullah is fond of talking so loudly, is being practised so extensively in the State Administration that notices advertising vacancies of Govt. posts sometimes clearly say that " only Mohammadans need apply".

9. The men in power in the State, judged from the politics they have been pursuing, seem to be determined to make the people of the State feel that they are being ruled from Srinagar. The Training College, which was started by the Maharaja's Govt. in Jammu, has been shifted to Srinagar, the Tosha-Khana, which contained all the valuables and curios of the State along with manuscripts lying in the Jammu Library, have also been carried to Srinagar. It was planned to shift the State Press also from Jammu to Srinagar, but this has been postponed for the time being as the result of Public protest. Jammu enjoyed the status of a separate Province with a separate Governor during the old regime. Now the separate entity of Jammu Province has been destroyed by abolishing the Governorship and lumping together the Districts of Jammu and Kashmir under one Commissioner.

10. The territorial limits of the various administrative units of the Jammu Province have been altered with a view to the eventual partition of the Province into Hindu and Muslim Zones so that the Muslims may be in a position to act at the critical time to the deteriment of India. The Udhampur District which had a clear Hindu majority and acted as direct link between Jammu and Ladakh, has been split up into two Units. Its Northern areas like Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Ramban, which contain most of the mineral and forest wealth of the State have been constituted into a separate Muslim majority district of Doda, which is intended eventually to be amalgamated with Kashmir. The minorities in the zone are being harrassed and threatened

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(and threatened) to leave, the illegal provocative speeches are being delivered by the National Conference leaders in the very presence of the police without any action being taken. Arms and ammunition is being manufactured and supplied to the members of the majority community. This district besides destroying the natural cohesion of the Jammu Province has become a wedge separating Jammu from Ladakh. Similarly, Reasi district was split up and a new District of Rajouri-Poonch created. The Tehsil of Reasi with a preponderant population of Hindus was joined with Udhampur and the remaining portion of Reasi District i.e. the Tehsil of Rajouri was joined with Muslim majority areas of Poonch. Further, with a view to extend this newly created District of Rajouri Poonch a portion of Reasi Tehsil in the West of River Chenab and certain Northern Patwars of Akhnoor Tehsil, which are predominantly Hindu areas are being separated to form a new Niabat of Sunderbani.

11. The motive underlying these measures becomes clear when we keep in view the treatment meted out to the thousands of Hindu and Sikh refugees, who emigrated from the Pakistan held territories of the State. They want to settle in the State. There is enough room to settle them all. In Jammu District alone 7,04,034 kanals of evacuee land is available for settlement. But instead of allotting that land to the refugees it has been given to favourites on payment of five times the annual land revenue which amount is being credited to Muslim evacuees fund. The Govt. of India all this time has been spending crores of rupees on feeding these refugees, who are now being sent out to distant places like Bikaner and Bhopal against their wishes.

12. The law defining the term " State subject" is being so interpreted as to prevent people of Indian domicile from settling in the State. But when it comes to Kazaks from Turkistan, all these Laws are put aside and they have been given full naturalisation rights to settle in Kashmir Valley. Similarly, lacs of Pakistanis have been allowed

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( allowed ) to infiltrate into the State during the last four years. They have been helped to settle down in the State.

13. The economic condition of the people of the State, particularly in Jammu and Ladakh, has greatly deteriorated during the last four and a half years. New taxes have been imposed and the existing ones enhanced from two to five times with the result, that their burden has become almost unbearable considering that the average income is about one half of that in the rest of India and the burden of taxation considerbly much more. The Govt. control over the Transport and distribution of all articles of necessity is telling heavily on the people. The burden of exhorbitant Customs duties continues to shatter our economy. A thing worth rupee one at Pathankot costs us between 37% to 50 % above that price in the State. Within the State, Govt. monopolies have replaced private enterprise to the detriment of the consumer. The charges for transport of commodities to different parts of the State fixed by the Govt. are much higher than the rates charged by the Private transporters. The scope for Private Transport has been practically eliminated by the establishment of the Government Transport Deptt. There is no free competition. Petrol which is derationed throughout India is controlled in the State. This has not benefitted the people at all except perhaps a few families of the ruling party.

14. The people of Jammu foresaw the dangerous results of the Government policies quite early. The President of the Praja Parishad, brought these apprehensions and grievances also to the notice of the Government of India. We have undergone all this suffering in the hope that it will end with the complete accession of the State to India, when we will have all the benefits of Indian citizenship including the protection of fundamental rights which is guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. But that hope has now begun to change into despair. When the elections to the Constituent

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(Constituent) Assembly for the State were ordered last year, we were given to understand that the Constituent Assembly would ratify the accession of the State to India. We, therefore, prepared ourselves to take part in the elections. But to our great disappointment, 41 out of 59 nomination papers of the Praja Parishad nominees were rejected on flimsy grounds and conditions were created through official pressure which made fair elections impossible. I appealed to Sheikh Abdullah as also to the Government of India to hold an independent judicial inquiry into the wholesale rejection of nomination papers of the Praja Parishad candidates and prevent Government servants from abusing their authority by helping actively the National Conference candidates, so that the fears of the people regarding partiality of the elections may be allayed. But no heed was paid to our requests with the result that the Praja Parishad was forced to boycott the elections under protest. The Constituent Assembly is clearly a packed body and consists of the nominees of single party. It is not a sovereign body. It does not represent the people of the State at all. The people of Jammu have no voice in it. Moreover, the representatives of the State in Indian Parliament are all nominees of this Constituent Assembly. Thus we have no representation in the Indian Parliament either.

15. The announcement made by Mirza Afzal Beg, a member of the Basic Principles Committee of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, that Kashmir would be an autonomous Republic within the Indian Republic with a separate National Assembly President and judiciary and the subsequent speeches of Sheikh Abdullah have made it clear that National Conference wants a very loose relationship with India and not full accession like other Part B States. So our hope that redress will come to us through the application of the Indian Constitution in its entirety to the State has been

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(State has been) dashed to the ground. Our very existence as a self-respecting section of the Indian people is now in danger.

16. Further more the recent vital decisions made by the Constituent Assembly, regarding State Flag and termination of the Ruling Dynasty, have caused deep resentment throughout the State and particularly in the Province of Jammu. From this, it is evident that the things in the State are drifting towards the creation of an Independent Republic.

17. The whole sale condemnation of the heroes and founders of the State have greatly wounded the feelings of the people of the Jammu Province which indicates that the people of the Jammu Province in general are looked upon by the party in power with contempt.

18. These circumstances have forced us to approach your honour with the request which may look drastic but which is the only alternative now left to us. Leaving out of consideration for the moment those parts of the State which are now under the illegal occupation of Pakistan, the India held territory of the State is made up of three distinct regions namely, Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir Valley.

19. The people of each of those regions, are a distinct people with a distinct language, culture and history and a definite territory. The Jammu region lies south of the Pir-panchal Range as far as the Cease Fire Line at Suchet--garh, and between Ravi and Jhelum Rivers in the East and West, and includes Doda and Padar areas. This Unit forms the core round which Maharaja Gulab singh wove the present fabric of Jammu and Kashmir State.

20. We of Jammu claim the right to determine our future ourselves. Had Kashmir Valley, the most populous region, held with us the view that the State should accede to India as one of its integral part like other part B States, we need not have made this demand. But now that we find that the State Constituent Assembly is taking decisions

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(decisions) for the entire State in matters of ~~dum~~ fundamental importance to our future existence which run counter to our declared wishes and are detrimental to our interests and those of INDIA AS A WHOLE, we are constrained to approach you for the protection of our legitimate rights and interests. And whatever may be the views of the other regions of the State about their accession to India being limited only to a certain number of subjects, we of Jammu Province desire that we shall be united and integrated with India in the same manner as other Part B States have been. We claim that the people of Jammu Province hold this view and that if necessary this can be ascertained and verified by any recognised democratic method through an agency independent of the present Kashmir Government. We are glad to note from the speeches of Shre Kaushak Bakola that Ladakh holds similar views and demands similar rights for that region. Sheikh Abdullah is also reported to have said in one of his speeches " If Jammu and Ladakh so desire, they can decide to integrate with India and leave Kashmir Valley free to have limited accession".

21. Being the descendants of those, who sacrificed their blood and resources to build up this great and integrated State, it was our desire, that the entire State including those parts which are still held by Pakistan should form like other Part B States an integral part of the Republic of India. To bring about that consolidation we are prepared, like our ancestors willingly and cheerfully to make the greatest sacrifices including that of life to reconquer for India what rightfully belongs to her and us. But till that happens, we cannot agree with Sheikh Abdullah that like Kashmir Valley, we also should accede to our own MOTHERLAND with reservations.

22. Permit us in the end to request you to judge us and this our demand as coming from a people, who have always been and shall always remain Indian. That is our greatest

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(greatest) pride. Imagine for a moment any other part of India whether in the East, West or South placed in that awkward predicament in which we are and then you will probably agree that the same demand would have been made by the people of that region. As children of India, it is but natural that we should resist any move to keep us away from our Motherland in howsoever a small degree. As it is attempted to keep us substantially out of India, we, there-fore, want to make it clear that we shall not accept any such position. We want the entire Constitution of India to apply to Jammu. We want to have the protection of the Supreme Court, we want to enjoy the fundamental rights as all Indians do, we want the same Flag as is allowed to Part B States and not the Red Flag now selected by Sheikh Abdullah and we want to be governed by the laws of the Indian Legislature. That way lies the future of Jammu and we feel it our patriotic duty to resist with all the strength at our command attempts from whatever quarter made to thwart the full accession of Jammu with India.

Yours faithfully,

Premnath Dogra

( PREM NATH DOGRA)

President,

All J & K Praja Parishad HQs. Jammu.

Dated Jammu,
the 19 June '52.

Copy

Copy forwarded to

Shree Gopalaswamy Ayyangar Defence Minister

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The Editor,

The Tribune,

Ambala Cantt.

Dear Sir,

Your Editorial in defence of Sheikh Abdulla's Appeal published in your paper dated 21-4-57 is atonce informative and suggestive. It shows that you yourself are not sure about the correctness of the stand taken by Sheikh Abdulla Government for accession of the State ' for a limited number of the subjects'. And at the same time the argument advanced is not understandable. The flexibility to be adopted in the Constitution by conventions will even to yourself its horrible results. Such flexibility principle will lead to the fragmentation of the country which will not be feasible both from economic and administrative point of view.

You have supported the ' Gratuitous ' grant of Sheikh Abdulla of autonomy to ' Cultural Units '. What is culture ? Has a Nation different cultures ? Or is India a land of different Nations. Nation has always only one culture. The cultural division of the state is the acceptance of the principle of the state being composite of different Nations. This splitting of the State into different so called cultural units will not be a sound solution of the problem and will not end the present political impasse but will lead to furthur troubles more harmful to the cause of the country than it is intended to remedy.

Unfortunately the practice of calling names or attribute motives to those who honestly differ from the view point of the party in power has become a universal rule in the country. The Indian Prime Minister does not spare any opportunity let go than he should not abuse his political opponents. In the same tone you too accuse that'the Praja Parishad leaders are clearly asking for the application of the two nation theory to the state is directly or indirectly pressing for the partition of the State Jammu and Kashmir

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it displays that either the real implication of the agitation are not understood or it is deliberately done to cloud the re real issue.

The Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru is following the policy of surrendering to Muslim Communalism by granting a special Status to Kashmir because of its being predominantl Muslim area and you knowingly fully well it to be wrong suppor it with the expression ' If for certain reasons '. What are th those reasons ? Having failed practically to bring Kashmir State completely integrated like all other states you like Pandit Nehru shift the burden on to others and charge them com unal and ' directly or indirectly pr ssing ' for the partiti of the State. Who is asking for the application of the two Nation theory ? If ' A Constitution, a Flag, and an anthem, these three sum up a Nation' ( Page 3, Our National Song Govern ment of India Publication ) is a good principle for the rest of India any variation of this principle of granting a right to have a separate Constitution to a section of Indians ( For Kashmiries have very often been declared to be Indians both by Pandit Nehru and Sheikh Abdulla ) is the adoption of three natic theory in practice and it is shameful to cast malignantly the burden of its demand on others.

Yours Faithfully,

Nariand Daus
B.A. LL.

31, Kachchi Chowni, Jammu.

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To

The Hon'ble Prime Minister,

Jammu and Kashmir Government,

Jammu.

Sir,

We the undersigned beg to state that from a perusal of a statement published in the issue of the Indian News Chronicle dated the 20th March 1950 we have come to know that the Jammu and Kashmir Government is going to become the proprietor of the land and also that land will be acquired without paying any compensation and also that no holder will possess land more than an economic holding prescribed for the purpose, and that any land found in excess will be taken by the Government and distributed to tillers.

In this connection we beg to submit that residential plots purchased in the areas known as Rajbagh, Burzala Bhagat, Batwara, Sheopura, Boulevard Road, Nishat Road, Nagin Bagh, Nasim Bagh, Pahalgam, Gulmarg, Baramulla, Rehari Jammu and Nawabad Jammu are very costly plots in as much as they have been purchased at prices ranging from Rs. 500/- per kanal to Rs. 4000/- per kanal. In this way people have spent several lacs of rupees on the purchase of these plots and some have even incurred very heavy amount of debt in purchasing these plots. These residential plots, due to the adverse political situation of the country and also due to acute dearness of building material and the great financial stringency which the country is facing at present, have not been inhabited and the plots are lying vacant and are being tilled temporarily by tenants. If these plots are treated as an agricultural land and are acquired by the Government without paying any cost etc. it will mean a terrible loss to the proprietors and in some cases it will result in a complete ruin of those people who have made huge investment there by raising heavy amount of debt. All the above noted areas fall within the proposed Municipal limits of Srinagar

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and Jammu. It is therefore requested that the residential plots which lie in the above mentioned localities may kindly be exempted from the operation of this law and people may on the other hand be encouraged in building houses thereon by adequately laying out the area which would result in a decent and healthy extension of Srinagar and Jammu cities. Such a step would remove the congestion of the city and also solve the house problem which is worrying a great deal in these days due to the movement of refugees from one place to another.

The Government of India have definitely laid down in the Indian Constitution that no property will henceforth be acquired without paying proper compensation. Government of India are accordingly paying compensation in all the Provinces where the new Zamindari Bill has been introduced. People have spent crores of rupees on the purchase of agricultural land in the State and some have even spent their whole life earning in this connection. To deprive them from this well earned property without paying any compensation would simply bring ruin and disaster to the people who have invested money in land. If people are granted compensation they will be able to utilize money in some other manner and to take up some other pursuits. It is therefore requested that the Government should take up the question of the grant of suitable compensation because otherwise it will be clearly high handedness on the part of Government which cannot be expected from any civilised Government.

It is also submitted that the economic holding of 12 acres and 8 acres fixed for lands in Jammu Province and Kashmir Province respectively is a very small one and no zamindar who mainly depends on his agricultural produce can meet his domestic expenses as regards feeding, education, marriage etc. The return of Jammu land is very poor and it has been experienced that people cannot even meet their domestic expenses out of 50 acres and 100 acres. Thus if the land-lords

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are restricted and not allowed to utilize their total land they and their kith and kin will have to simply starve and beg from door to door. The Government instead of raising the standard of living of people will on the other hand lower the standard and finish it completely. It is therefore requested that in order to avoid such a bad situation the area of economic holding may kindly be fixed with due regard to the necessity of family members which one has to feed. The necessity of future generation may also be kept in view. It is worth consideration how will the sons be able to meet their requirement after the death of their father who possess 12 acres of land and when every one of them has got sufficient family to fee. The answer is self evident.

Again if the Government wants to take the whole land it should also meet the liabilities of the people and also make suitable arrangements for meeting all necessary expenses of the family. It is therefore requested that Kashmir Government should take action in this respect similar to Government of India.

Lastly the request is briefly summarised as under:-

(1) That the residential plots purchased by people at considerable cost may be exempted from the operation of this law.

(2) That the area of economic holding may be raised so as to meet the full requirement of the family.

(3) That the Government should give suitable compensation so that the people may be able to get some amount of their investment to do some other work and earn their livelihood in that manner.

We cannot help without remarking that the introduction of land reforms in the State at the present moment when the people are working in uncertain conditions and are very much handicapped in many respects is quite inopportune. At present there is much economic depression and it has become

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impossible to live even. Foremost attention of the Government should be for the restoration of peaceful conditions in the State and not for creating more disorder friction and lawlessness. All that has been stated is a plain fact and can be verified by facts and figures.

Jammu, the
April, 1950.

Yours faithfully,

Land-lords.

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24-8-52

# Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

## जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

*( Central Office Jammu )*

Ref. No .....  Dated.....

Dear Sir,

I beg to bring to your kind notice the following for favour of your consideration :-

1 The lists of voters were scheduled to be out on 22-7-2000 according to the Govt orders published in the Gazette dated 24-5-51. But the lists, NOT to speak of the remotest parts of the province, were NOT out in Jammu City in due time.

2 Due publicity to this effect has NOT been given and consequently this important matter has NOT come to the notice of of the general public even until now.

Since the Ilaqas is mostly hilly and inaccessible and the people are illiterate and politically backward, the time limit of three weeks for filling objections is too inadequate.

4 On perusal of some of the voters lists, it has been observed that they contain many [illegible] and misprints. Due to this it is difficult to decipher and understand the [illegible]

5- Objection forms are available only at District and Tehsil headquarters and are not [illegible] to the concerned only. Every man and woman cannot be expected [illegible] from the one placed to obtain forms for filling objections [illegible] it would be costly and troublesome affair. Under these circumstances [illegible] it would be in the interest [illegible]

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h of the public and the Govt. to arrange supply of the forms at
ily accessible places.

To evolve order and to make proper use of them it is
essary that these lists should be brought upto the mark. Further
e sufficient publicity should be given so that the voters may
e to know what is expected of them and also the forms for
ing objections may be placed at easily accessible places to avoid
hardships to the voters.

It is expected that to make this first approach to
ocratic set up a success, the above demands of the voters would
properly looked into, failing which the Praja Parishad would be
tified to ask for extension in the time limit for filling
ections.

Yours faithfully,

(Durga Dass)
General Secretary,
All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad.

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Letter written to Dy P. M
J&K Govt, Dt 13/6/1931 about some
incident occured at Udhampur

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# Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

( Central Office Jammu )

Ref. No. 1491.

Dated. 18.6.1951.

The Hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister,

Jammu and Kashmir Government,

Srinagar.

Dear Sir,

This is in continuation of our telegram dated 12.6.1951, regarding serious beating of the Praja Parishad people by the National Conference workers at Sudhmahadev in District Udhampur. The moment I received the report of the sad incident, I proceeded to Udhampur to enquire into the matter. The detail of the case is that a public meeting to be held on 11th June, 1951, had been arranged a week before at Sudhmahadev in Chanoni Illaqa. Accordingly the Praja Parishad meeting commenced at the appointed time with a song. As soon as the song concluded, a batch of 50 people armed with axes and Lathies was seen approaching to the meeting place raising slogans Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad, Motiram Baigra Zindabad, National Conferyence Zindabad and Praja Parishad Murdabad. On reaching the spot, they cardoned the stage, abused the workers and fell upon them with their axes and Lathies. Mr. Kulldhwaj, Organising Secretary, Udhampur

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# Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

## जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

( Central Office Jammu )

Ref. No.....

Dated.....

and another worker received serious injuries.

The Police authorities on spot refused to entertain their written report. Next day (i.e. 12th June 1951) they were brought to Udhampur. The Superintendent of Police also did not entertain the Report. The Medical Officer Udhampur was approached, but he also did not examine the wounds to issue the necessary certificate. He was again and again requested to do his duty as prescribed under rules, but he did not accede.

The Head of th District, Deputy Commissioner, Udhampur, was requested to look into the grave matter personally and take requisite steps to bring the culprits to book. He also did not take any notice. All this compelled me to bring the injured persons to Jammu for medical examination and proper treatment at 11-30 P.M. the same day. The wounds had by then remained unattended for more than 24 hours. Before removing them to Jammu, the matter was again brought to the notice of the Superintendent of Police and the Deputy Commissioner by me.

Attacks on public meetings organized by a political

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# Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

## जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

( Central Office Jammu )

Ref. No.....

Dated.....

party by another party and raising of anti slogans inciting violence and beating of the workers mercilessly is a clear goondaism which if not nipped in time is likely to create chaos and disturb the peace of the country. I may bring it to your kind notice that this is the direct result of Mr. Moti Ram Baigra and his companions preaching violence and hatred. They exhort people to beat and stone the Praja Parishad people. As a specimen, his speach at Reasi about two months back may be referred to in which he incited the audience to black the faces of Praja Parishad workers, tie them on donkeys and drive ~~them~~ them away after they are beaten with lathies and axes.

Inspite of all these unbearable insults, our workers have behaved like true followers of Mahatma Gandhi and preferred death to raise a finger against the hooligans. The incident referred to above is the 2nd attack of its kind in Chenani Illaqa.

The attack was well preplanned and arranged. The Police authorities instead of controlling the situation encouraged the goondas, and the worst is that even the Polic

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(Urdu Section Letter).

authorities Udhampur did not entertain the first information report of the sad incident and the Medical Officer also did not issue the certificate. It means that the administration is in those hooligans' hands posing as National Conference workers and they have a free hand to do whatever they like. The honour and lives of the peace loving people are not secure. The peace of the country is at stake. Law and order is being abused. Goondaism is rampant. We hope you will kindly take personal interest in the matter.

Yours faithfully,

General Secretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
Jammu.

No. 1492 D, Jammu, the 18/6, 1954.

Copy submitted to the Hon'ble Prime Minister His Highness Jammu and Kashmir Govt. Srinagar, for information and power of necessary action.

Sd. Dugad Dr Kanna
Genl Secretary.

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diplomatic than ~~realism~~ reality. Referring to Bakhshi's opposition to abrogation of Art. 370 of the Indian Constitution, Praja Parishad leader said, " His opposition to abrogation of Art. 370 has been never in doubt despite categorical assertion by the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru that this Article was going to becom redundant with the passage of time. What is shocking is that that he should now link up the validity of the accession of the State to the Union with the transitional provision of the Indian Constitution.

( In his interview Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd had said", Art. 370, Bakhshi Sahib pointed out, gave validity to this State's voluntary accession to the Indian Union as determined by the freely elected constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir) . There could be perhaps no worse example of political opportunism".

Pt. Dogra stated " Bakhshi has boasted about having weakened Praja Parishad which he has dubbed as communal. I may assure him that his such claims are going to deceive him alone. Praja Parishad is an organisation of tried patriots out to fight to last against elements which have no faith in politically strong, economically progressive and socially upright Indian Nation".

Pt. Dogra further said that Bakhshi's emphasis "Under his leadership his party had fought communalism in the State, when in other parts of the country, righitst and communal parties had gained ground" is the same tone of talking as the leaders of the ruling National Conference had been using to misguide and arouse the communal frenzy amongst the Kashmir Muslims against India. the change of 1953,

Gopaldas Sacher,
Publicity Secretary,
J&K Praja Parishad, Jammu.

D/_____

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1454

Jammu - 31st August : While commenting on Bakshi Ghulam Mohd's recent exclusive interview with the correspondent of a News Agency (I.P.A.) and later circulated through the Kashmir Govt. Information Bureau, the J & K Praja Parishad Chief Pt. Prem Nath Dogra said here today, " In this interview Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad has laid bare his real intentions with regard to Kashmir's position in the Indian Union that he is not prepared to be treated at par with other States of India, should be now abundantly clear even to those who had developed a sort of blind faith in his oft repeated slogans about National Integration". Dogra added that far from bringing Kashmir Closer to the rest of the country, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad has even disapproved the suggestion about National Conference's integration with the Indian National Congress on the plea of " its own special traditions and certain sentiments of its followers". It should not be difficult for anybody to read between the lines. National Conference has in fact lost hold on the masses because of such antinational sentiments of its leadership.

Praja Parishad Chief said " Bakhshi's assertion that Kashmir is still very much an international issue, runs counter to his own previous declarations that Kashmir has linked its destiny irrevocably with India and that there was now no Kashmir problem except that of recovering our territories illegally held by Pakistan and China. His latest approach definitely smacks of black mailing and refutes the very basis of India's stand at the United Nations".

Pt. Dogra expressed surprise that Kashmir Premier's reference to Sheikh Mohd Abdullah as " still posing a serious political problem for the State which cannot be dealt with purely as a law and order question" is most unfortunate. Can there be worse confession about the miserable failure of the Government to create feelings of certainty and stability in minds of the people ? But this confession also seems more political and

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An appeal to Journalists all over
B H A R A T
By
L. Durga Das Verma,
General Secretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad, Jammu,

1952

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Dear Friends,

I address to you from that unfortunate part of the motherland which is engaged in a heroic fight against the tyrannical rule of one party dictatorship; the State of Jammu & Kashmir.

Ever since our appearance on the political horizon of the state as an political opposition; to exercise necessary check and bring to public light all the omnissions and commissions of the party-in-power for the healthy function of the Democratic order of the state; we have made an ceaseless endeavour to justify our existence as such.

Apart from the fact that in discharge of our democratic duty to establish stable and clean political life in the state the expected, essential Government co-operation was never extended, our demands and suggestions never cared for, repeated warnings not heeded to; and above all we were never tekn in the confidence as entitled to by virtue of being the only opposition in the state over the issues of accession, etc. which we genuinely feel effecting our very existence. In view of the bitter experience which we have have had during the last so many years of our struggle with the National Conference, we are convinced that even the slightest support to it from howsoever an unimportant quarter in all probability will prove disasterous and endanger the security as also the integrity of the country at large.

In order to give a fresh repitition to what we have ventured to declare millions of times before, I reitriate it once more with full emphasis at my command; that no amount of suppression or humiliation can deter us in our path and compel us to compromise our stand. We cherish for a speady integeration with Bharat like other part B state and aspire to enjoy the

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An appeal to Journalists all over

India

By

1. Dharu Ram Verma,
General Secretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Raja Parishad, Jammu.

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Dear Friends,

I address to you from that unfortunate part of the motherland which is engaged in a heroic fight against the tyrannical rule of one party dictatorship; the state of Jammu & Kashmir.

Ever since our appearance on the political horizon of the state as an political opposition; to exercise necessary check and bring to public light all the enormities and corruption of the party-in-power for the healthy function of the democratic order of the state; we have made an ceaseless endeavour to justify our existence as such.

Apart from the fact that in discharge of our democratic duty to establish stable and clean political life in the state we expected, essential Government co-operation was never extended, our demands and suggestions never paid for, repeated reminds not heeded to; and above all we were never taken into confidence as entitled to by virtue of being the only opposition in the state over the issues of secession, etc. which we genuinely feel affecting our very existence. In view of the bitter experience which we have have had during the last so many years of our struggle with the National Conference, we are convinced that even the slightest support to it from howsoever small and important quarter in the possibility will prove disastrous not only to our security but also the integrity of the country at large.

In order to give a final petition to what we have ventured to declare all along of times before, I reiterate it now more with full emphasis by command; stark no amount of appeasement or conciliation can deter us in our path and goal is to consolidate our position; to cherish for a speedy integration of India and to work to make our state to make our contribution to enjoy the

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fundamental rights of the Indian Constitution as guaranteed and safeguarded by the angust supereme court of India.

Our only crime is that we have exposed the political intrigue in its nakedness, which Seikh Abdullah and his lieutenants wanted to conceal in a very deceitful manner from those poor Indians, on whose blood and toil he has erected this fraduelent mansion. The present advantageous postion that Sheikh Abdullah enjoys, let me tell you, friends! is the accident of history and conspiracy of circumstances.

Try to understand this basic postition of our movement before passing any verdict over it.

After having failed to crush the movement as claimed many a time quite egoistically by the executive authorities of the state they have furthered their undemocratic designs and served an unjust order over the local representative of the press agencies not to despatch any statement under my signature and that of our publicity secretary, so that the power-mad rulers may get an free hand to suppress us without any knowledge to our brotherm in India

In all humility Friends! I appeal you to scrap this unjust undemocratic illegal order, accord due publicity to our despatchesx and statements and thus serve the cause of India, its unity and glory.

Should anti-Parishad accounts continue to appear in the press it will unfortunately hit hard and threaten Bharat's integrity. I believe, I am within right to expect a favourable response to my earnest and humble appeal.

JAI BHARAT.

Durga Dass Verma
Durga Dass Verma,
General Secretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad.

Copy of the above forwarded to Editor Naya Samaj Jammu for favour of persual and publication.

Publicity Secretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
JAMMU.

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fundamental rights of the Indian Constitution as guaranteed and safeguarded by the august supreme court of India.

Our only crime is that we have exposed the political intrigue in its nakedness, which Sheikh Abdullah and his lieutenants wanted to conceal in a very deceitful manner from those poor Indians, on whose blood and toil he has erected this fraudulent mansion. The present advantageous position that Sheikh Abdullah enjoys, let me tell you, friends! is the accident of history andconspiracy of circumstances.

Try to understand this basic position of our movement before passing any verdict over it.

After having failed to crush the movement as claimed many a time quite egoistically by the executive authorities of the state they have furthered their undemocratic designs and served an unjust order over the local representative of the press agencies not to despatch any statement under my signature and that of our publicity secretary, so that the concerned rulers may get an free hand to impress us without any knowledge to our brotheren in India.

In all humility friends! I appeal you to scrap this unjust undemocratic illegal order, accord due publicity to our despatches and statements and thus serve the cause of India, its unity and glory.

Should anti-Parishad accounts continue to appear in the press it will unfortunately hit hard and threaten Bharat's integrity. I believe, I am within right to expect a favourable response to my earnest and humble appeal.

JAI BHARAT.

Durga Das Verma

Durga Das Verma,
General Secretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad, Jammu.

Copy of the above forwarded to Shri [illegible] for favour of personal and publication.

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Pandit Premnath Dogra, President, All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad, has issued the following statement here today:

"In view of somewhat conflicting reports that are appearing in the press in Jammu as well as outside the State, it has become necessary to issue an authoritative version regarding the future line of action of the Praja Parishad."

"There should remain no ambiguity about our grievances and apprehensions arising out of the various policies and programmes of the present party in power and our solutions to the knotty problems confronting our State. They have been clearly explained in the Memorandum that we have recently submitted to the President of India."

"We want complete accession of the whole State with India. But if Kashmir leaders continue to insist on limited accession, we want Jammu to be integrated with India in the manner of other Part B Class States. Again, if any body has doubt about the representative character of the Parishad, we are prepared to get this view ascertained and verified by any recognised democratic method through an agency independent of the Abdullah Government."

"We have every hope that our labours in bringing home the truth of our demands will bear fruit. If, however, unfortunately justice is denied to us, we shall not sit idle. To meet that eventuality preparations are already underway for holding a convention of Praja Parishad within next fortnight that will decide the party's future line of action."

"A word about the possibility of a Quit Jammu struggle. There are elements in the Praja Parishad much disgusted as they are with recent decisions of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, who do feel that way. I cannot commit Praja Parishad to their view, nor do I know what the mind of the proposed Convention is going to be. It is, however, clear that our demand for the separation of Jammu from Kashmir under certain conditions virtually already does not mean very different from any Quit Jammu movement."

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The recent happenings in the state of J&K, culminating in the installation of the Saddar-i-Reasat, at the bidding of the political party whose nominees call themselves " The Constituent Assembly" of the State although they really represent no body, have shocked the conscience of the people. They reveal utter disregard of the feelings, wishes and interests of the people, and also of the repeated warnings of the Praja Parishad.

The sufferings of the people which began with the tribal invasion in 1947 have been aggravated by the inefficiency, corruption, abuse of authority, and bias communal as well as provincial, on the part of the party in power.

That the patience of the people has been exhausted was clearly revealed when they observed a complete voluntary Hartal and hoisted Indian Union Flag on their buildings in Jammu city and out-lying districts on November, 12, 1952, just when the Kashmir Government party flag was unfurled over the state forts and the Saddar-i-Reasat was installed at Srinagar This spontaneous demonstration amounts to condemnation of the Government policy and vindication of the Praja Parishad stand.

Being anxious and desirous that this resentment should not translate itself into violence, the Paraja Parishad is driven to the necessity of directing it along the lines laid down by Mahatma Gandhi Ji in his historic struggle for Indian independence. Unfortunately all constitutional methods of ventilatin grievances are denied to the people of the state, because the freedom of press and plateform has been completely supressed and all political activity has been stifled in state. In these circumstances the only weapon available to the oppressed people is that of non-violent "Satyagraha" which has already shaped the destiny of India. We are driven to this step by sheer frustation, because all our protests, representations and warnings have been utterly disregarded during the last five years.

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We reiterate for the millionth time that the fundamental and solitary demand of the Praja Parishad is for a full and unqualified accession of the whole state to the Indian Union like other part "B" states. It follows from the basic stand that we are in favour of every step that brings us nearer this objective, and that we are opposed to every measure that leads to the opposite direction. The flying of the Indian Union Flag over buildings in Jammu on November 17, 1952 in preference to the separate Government party flag which was unfurled over the forts on that date, is symbolic of our desire to have complete union with India. A separate flag, a separate Ptesdient or Saddar and a separate constitution for our state are steps that will lead us in a direction opposite to that of our objective of complete and unqualified accession. We are found, therefore, to oppose all such measures. We believe that the people of the state are behind us in this desire and that the present trend of Kashmir Government policy is highly dangerous not only for this state but also for the whole of India.

Nothing good and great was ever achieved without sacrific -e . With faith in our ideal and enimity towards none, we are willing and prepared to make all necessary sacrifices and to show by our sufferings that we deserve what we desire.

The working Committee of the Praja Parishad has already authorised their President to take whatever action he deems proper and necessary to take in the present emergency for the purpose of achieving our objective. He now appoints and nominates Shree Durga Dass Dass Verma, General Secretary of the Paraja Parishad, to organise and carry on the compaign of "Satyagraha" with the direction that violence should be entirely avoided throughout the compaign and that the methods adopted should be legitimate, proper and effectively conducive to the ideal and objective of the Praja Parishad. He will remain in-vested with this responsibility untill otherwise directed by the President or the working committee.

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The Jammu and Kashmir state being an integral part of Bharat from times immemorial the people of the state are indissolubly linked with other Bhartyas so far as their traditions political, cultural and economic life is concerned.

In the year 1947 due to the barbarous attack of Pakistan on the state of Jammu and Kashmir , Sheikh Abdullah was brought into power much less by force of circumstances , but much more by bond of true love of Pandit Nehru . This Sheikh,as you all now know with the help of his communal and selfish party men started the gane bargaining both with Pakistan,who plundered the wealth,modesty and beauty of our mother land, and with India, who actually brought him out of Jail and brought him to this exalted position of Prime Ministership ofJ&K state . This fact influenced the rather timid leaders of India to appease and grant a special status to this state where communists and communalists gained power day by day.

Intoxicated with power , this ruling clique, instead of developing the state , engaged themselves in making fortunes for themselves and their kith and kin and their party men. In order to have a free hand in the state affairs they manipulated to make the state a seperate indipendent unit. Their unchecked dictatorial powers were used to suppress the civil liverties of the people by enacting repressive laws of the dark ages . Corruption ,partiality and nepotism became rampant everywhere. Things came to such a dangerous pass that Praja Parishad had to give them a tough fight . Thrice the innocent Dogras were mercilessly belaboured, chidren teargassed and women folk molestee ed . All this did not quench their thirst but during the last Praja Parishad Satyagrah precious young lives of 15 Dogras brave men were sacrificed to unfold their natorius plans. Their last and severest blow was on the brightest gem of Bharat Mata.

From the very beginning of its regime the National Conference had a very bad record of unfair practices. In the last general Elections it again came to power through their very means of brute force and illegally rejecting Nomination papers of Praja Parishad candidates ,and prepared a seperate constitution

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for the state to perpetuate seperatistic mentality.

In the opinion of the Praja parishad , and view of the present critical international situation when the two strong blocks of the world are greedily manovering for having the state as their strategical point for the impending war, and itscase in the Security Council is being mishandled by interested persons. This seperate constitution will only encourage fissiperous tendedcies by keeping alive a feeling of seperatism and ~~dulity~~ duality between the state and the rest of India. The dominating influence of communists and communalists in the state Govt. helps to support the above idea and is a matter of grave anxiety. Under such circumstances maintaining of colidarity and neutrali can hardly be expected.

Such an atmosphere in the state of this juncture is very dangerous and requires a strong remedial measure to set it right.

It is therefore very essential that the state should be brought fully under the constitution of India by repealing the Articls 370 of the constitution . This will create a sense of security among the faithful elements of the State and demoralize the unpatriotic groups .

In these times when war have no discrimination regarding boundaries and peoples it goes without saying that patriatism, moral and discipline of the nation prove to be more urgent and necessary than Military power alone. Along with the explosive ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ situation in the State the administration is also corrupt and bad. The last general Elections Municipality ~~xxxxxxx~~ elections bear ample proof of this moral degradation of the party in power. The public in generally prune to follow the rulers and if the public also copies the ruling party in the state then both the Govt. and the public are doomed.

Thinking rationally and realistically the conclusion we came to is that the development and high character and feeling the spirit of patriotism are the most essential necessities only true education can solve this problem. The present system of education has caused deterioration in charactor and produced misguided vane and desperate money seekers charactor is even more important than the vigour of body keenness of intellect so there is need for imparting proper religous (spritual) instructior

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Yesterday, on the 11th of April 1954, the Jammu and Kashmir Backward classes Union Jammu held a grand March of all the backward classes (mazdoor and kisans March) in which about twenty thousand people from all parts of the State including over three thousand women and children joined. The March, with great enthusiasm, slogans (Mazdoor Ithad Zinda Bad, Bharat Mata Ki Jai, Rashtrapati Ki Jai, Sadar-i-Riyasat Zinda Bad, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad Zinda-Bad, Bakhshi Wazarat Zindabad etc.,) started from grounds of the Government Gandhi Memorial College and at 12.45 P.M. under the lead of Shri Kartar singh, General Secretary of the Union, and passed through Raghunath Bazar, Purani Mandi, Moti Bazar, Kachi Chhawni, Parade Ground and gathered at Ajaibgarh Ground at about 2 P.M. where an open meeting was held. Shree Madanlal President of the Union took the Presiding chair amidst applauds and cheers. Shree Kartar singh General Secretary commencing the meeting function gave in elaborate terms, the deeply felt necessity of forming the Backward classes Union of the Jammu and Kashmir State, which classes have been groaning under the oppression and unjust treatment of the people, who, besides having all along been reaping the fruits of the blood-sweated labour of the former, have deprived the latter of even humani--tarian privileges and rights. These backward classes are deteriorating in their economic and social life in so much so that other classes and Smaj have not extended them any place to sit among them. Different political parties and organisations have exploited them to get their support and backing by putting them under the sheer hallucination of bettering their miserable plight. But they are still going down and down. The General Secretary continued that it was a fortunate day for them that they had realised the importance of unifying themselves in an undisruptable strength. Now, when they had realised to the very depths of their hearts that any delay to make them stand on their own legs was most detrimental to their very existence, they should stand united and resolved to go ahead for achieving their denied human rights of existence and progress. Referring to the benign activities of the Bakhshi Wazarat in removing heavy taxes, opening new schools and colleges, dinking wells and canals, laying roads, opening Ayurvedic and Unani dispen--saries and meeting with a generous heart the needs of the people, he demanded from the Bakhshi Government that these backward classes be ameliorated economically by providing them compulsory education, industrial loans, lands for cultivation scholarships for technical training, seats in local bodies and State Assembly, employment in Government services and extending to them an all out co-operation in bettering their lot as early as possible.

A resolution was also moved to represent to the Govt. for an early grant of the above urgent demands of the people. It was seconded by Shri Sain Das and other leading members of the backward classes and was passed unanimously by a show of hands and applaud.

Songs concerning the unity of backward classes were recited by Shree Harbans Lal, Durga Das Khaki and others.

The President addressed the gathering in bringing them to the very immediate and essential task of unifying themselves and thanked them for their wholehearted devotion to make the March and meeting a grand success. He reiterated that Mazdoor is the only constructing arm and force of the country and that the progress of the country as well as themselves lies in their hands only. He asserted that it would be most unfortunate the backward classes allowed themselves to lag behind in the race for progress and that they should not fall to the manoevourings of the other political exploiters when they have themselves seen the light with open eyes out of the past experience.

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He referred to the provisions contained in the Constitution of India for bettering the lot of backward classes and for which a Commissionxx appointed by the Government of India is touring various places. He demanded from the Bakhshi Government that a Backward Classes Welfare Commission be appointed with inclusion of representatives of the Backward classes Union so that effective betterment may be made in their plight.

Alluding to his recent coming out from Praja Parishad and groundless propaganda in the air, he emphasised in strong words that his reason for coming out of the Praja Parishad was a matter of principle as there had been serious conflict in the basic principles of democratic significance in the working of the Parishad. He warned the propagators to stop this propaganda immediately otherwise he will have to disclose the relative facts leading to his coming out from the said party.

The meeting dispersed very successfully with slogans of Bharat Mata Ki Jai, Backward Classes Union Zinda Bad, Rashtrapati Ki Jai, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad Zinda Bad, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru Zinda Bad etc.,

Dated Jammu
12.4.1954.

General Secretary,
JAMMU KASHMIR BACKWARD CLASSES UNION,
JAMMU.

Copy to:-

1. The Hon'ble Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, J&K Govt., Jammu, for favourable necessary action and ackgt.
2. The Editor _____
for favour of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ publication please.

General Secretary,

12.4.1954.

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PRESIDENT ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD.

Whereas it has been my endeavour and that of the organization I have the honour to represent, to excercise necessary restraint in bringing to public light allthe ommissions and commissions of the Government for the healthy function of the Democratic set up of the State for the last so many years of our existance, lest exposers at this stage of our country's histo may not strengthen the hand of our common enemy, it still remains an unsolved problem with me, as to what necessiated my arrest and the reign of terror thereafter.

Inspite of the fact that our assertions during and after the students protest and incidents thereafter, to the effect that the said students' movement was going on quite independent of our guidance and patronage have fully been substantiated, I still stand by my February 8th statement, demanding the institution of an independent enquiry commission to prove the validity of the Governments action, which the latter is justifying so much even now.

Ever since the instalation of present Government in the State all political detentions without trials have been carried out simply on political differences. Quite astonishingly I find not even a single instance when the present Government has cared to try a political detenue in an open court of law and furnish him with every legitimate facility that the law entitles him for his defence. Such an attitude on the part of the present Government besides being undemocratic is quite unbecoming for the much propagated popular character of the present regime. The natural result of all this is that a sense of despair and insecurity prevails throughout.

The present dramatic" clowure of the chapter" lends further belief that all the political opposition shall not be spared in the present set up of the State and shall therefore be an occasional prey for the bureaucratic irresponsibility and Police lock ups. In view of the claim that the party in power takes fancy to reserve for itself, it was expected that it shall establish decent political precedents in dealing with opposition. But it is unpleasant to remark that our experience of the last 5 years has fully disappointed us in our expectations. Therefore the political capital that the Pakistan Government takes out from the mass risings, directed for economic betterment and political ameolatration is the result of sheer lack of realism and civilised diplomacy of the rulers of the State. I wish even now the Government would realise its duty and acknowledge boldly the errors it is guilty of committi[illegible] these years of its misuse of power, and [illegible]

This meeting [illegible] for conducting [illegible] liberties.

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which thereby worthy political institutions to be followed by others.

Now with our release, when the eclipsed political horizon of the State is somewhat clear before me, and all out stock-taking is necessary in order to formulate our future policy.

It is painful to note that the Government has rushed through the most undemocratic method of nominating the States' representatives to the Indian Parliament, in quite disregard of our incessant clamour for their election, the practice which was followed in other States of India. Not only this the leaders of the party in power had the courage the express unreservedly and in ~~xxxx~~ unquivocal terms, their mind in the future relati relation ship of the State with India. The said desire to establish an autonomous Republic within ~~Xxxxx~~ India must have disillusioned the common tax-payer of India, whose sucked blood is continuously being injected into the veins of the present State Secretriats by the Indian exchequer, and who has so far reciprocated our occasional jerks to rise and resist this sinist move, with indifference, but it confirms by fears expressed so often throu press and platform.

Before my arrest I was in correspondance with the President of India on the subject of getting elected the States' representatives to the Indian Parliament, but what did I know that the party in power is out to play with popular sentiment and gage the voice for such an election. The doubt that the Government did not intend to throw the choice for the people verdict is confirmed and needs therefore no proof.

Mr. Bag's declaration, which Sheikh Sahib has fully endorsed, that the Constitutional relationship of the State with India, shall be that of a "Republic within Republic" raises a pertinent question, viz a viz purpo of sending our representatives to the Indian Parliament?

If we are Pakistanies because we clamour for Indian Constitution, we are reactionaries, because we demand election of the representatives for the Indian Parliament and we represent disgranted fuodal elements, because we court arrest for complete and unconditional accession of the State with Bharat, then what is the wisdom of having any relationship with India. I earnestly pray that reason may prevail upon the National Conference leade to realise the great potential benifit that the unconditional accession and our complete integration with India shall bring in its wake for us. On the contrary the proposed Republican set up shall lead to the Balkanisation of India and shall in the long run weaken the States' position both economically and politically.

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The situation demands a revision of policy and all out withdrawal from the original stand for the mutual benifit of India and the State.

While concluding I shall, while appealing to all the democrates and patriots of Bharat to wake up and prepare for this great threat to the integrity of our motherland, demand emphatically of the Government to restore all the civil liberties and end once for all the existing police harrasment. The continued detention of one of my colleague's Shri Bakhan-Lal is causing great concern to all of us and I wish him to be released immediately.

In the end I expect that not only the sympathies of India, but also all the resources at its disposal to help us in realisation of our goal which is really India's aim.

Jai Bharat.

Dated 8.4.1952.

(PREM NATH DOGRA)
PRESIDENT,
ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD.
JAMMU.

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PRESS RELEASE
JAMMU, 16-12-54

Jammu and Kashmir
PRAJA PARISHAD
JAMMU

The Myrters day was celebrated at Chhamb, ~~a village~~ forty miles from here, where a youngman Shri Mela Ram was shot dead by the Abdulla police while he was hoisting the ~~Indian~~ National Tri-colour Flag on a Government building ~~there~~ during the Praja Parishad Satyagrah. A large number of villagers from the Illaqua had gathered there to celebrate the day. Pt. Prem Nath Dogra President, Jammu and Kashmir Praja Prishad, and Shri Shayam Lal Sharma Parishad Vice-President also participated in the celebrations.

Paying homage to the Myrters Pt. Prem Nath Dogra said ~~that~~ "the sacrifices of the myrters never go waste and we cannot forget Dr, Mukerji, the great son of India and those other ~~of the State~~ who have shed their blood to strengthen the ties of the State with Bharat and upset the malicious designs and dangerous intrigues of Shiekh Abdullah and ~~of~~ other his colleagues." We celebrate anniversaries of these myrters to accomplish the mission for which they have laid their lives. Praja Parishad the popular organisation of the State is fully determined not to allow to loosen the ties of the State with Bharat which have been cemented by the Sacrifices of these myrters", he said. Criticising the policy of Pandit Jawar Lal Ji Nehru with regard to Kashmir affairs Pt. ~~Dgxx~~ Dogra said that he had miserably failed. "Not only the Imperilist powers but also Pt. Nehru himself is responsible for the bungling of Kashmir ~~affairs~~ problem. ~~Whxxxxx~~ Whenever we raised voice against his wrong policy we were quitened in the garb of international developments." Pandit Dgra added that people of the State supported the Maharaja's accession to the State ~~with~~ Indian Union. Subsequently the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir had also endorsed ~~the~~ this accession. All this lead to the fact that the accession of the State is morally legally and Constitutionally complete. Now after all this, the question of Plebicite is meaningless. The Government of India must withdraw the case from the U.N.O. and declare unequivocally that the question of accession being comlete cannot be allowed to reopen anymore. The policy of special treatment to this this State should be given up and the Indian Constitution should be applied inits entirety to this State like other B Class States. The People should be given the same fundamental rights which the other citizens of India are enjoying. Pandit Dogra added that late Dr Mukerji and other martyrs had shed their blood to achieve this object. and our struggle shall continue to achieve this end." The State cannot get rid of foreign intrig

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9. The women students are put to great hardship due to a want of common room. The present socalled common room is in fact an unfurnished and inequipped Women's heading room. There is no arrangement for picnics or tours for them.

Taking accounts of the above facts we demand that the Demand Charater issued by the Adhoc Committee Yesterday should be accepted within a fortnight .

We elect and authorize the following Committee to carry on the struggle as they think fit and get redress of our demands. They shall act as the Students Executive till properly elected College Unions are instituted in the Colleges.

In the name of students Unity, in the name of liberty, and our glourious traditions of struggle

WE RESOLVE

to wage a ceaseless struggle until our most genuine demands are accepted . Resolved also that the copies be sent to press and authorities.

Tuesday, 7th December, 1954.

A D - H O C C O M M I T T E E

1. Hans Raj VI year.
2. Kanwal Bali Iv year
3. D.K.Rampal III year
4.
5. Yash Bhasin V year.
6. Vishwa Bandhu III year
7. Ranbir Nanda IV year
8. Sat Saraf III year
9. Amrit Malhotra III year
10. Sujan Singh IV year.
11. Joginder Singh II year.
12. Chander Parkash Singh VI year.
13. Sucershana Sethi

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PRESS NOTE
JAMMU 16-12-54

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12. Chander Parkash Singh VI year.
13. Sudershana Sethi

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The Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha which met at New Delhi on 1st, 2nd and 3rd March 1952, passed the following resolutions;

## Disciplinary action.

The Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha notes with regret that a few responsible members of the Hindu Mahasabha either fought election on other party ticket or adopted their symbols or otherwise acted against Hindu Mahasabha interests. The Working Committee therefore appoints a Sub-Committee consisting of (1) Sri V.G. Deshpande (2) Sri Ashutosh Lahiry, (3) Sri Indraprakash (4) Sri Hardyal Devgun and Sri R.A. Kanitkar (as Convenor) to make thorough inquiries into the conduct of all such persons and submit their report within two months to the Working Committee to take such action as it deems proper.

## General elections

The Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha after giving its earnest and careful consideration to reports received from various States is definitely of opinion that the last general elections to the Parliament as well as to the State Legislatures were neither fair nor impartial and were vitiated by widespread and varied mal-practices which prevented the results of the elections from being a proper index of popular opinion for reasons inter alia --

(a) widespread use of Governmental machinery for carrying on propaganda in favour of the Congress candidates;

(b) the assumption by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the dual role of the Prime Minister of India and the President of the Congress organisation which made it possible for Government resources and machinery to be exploited for the propagation of party aims;

(c) issue of confidential instructions by certain Ministers which resulted in the rejection of nomination papers of many non-Congress candidates on grounds which were absolutely frivolous;

(d) indulging by Returning Officers, Presiding Officers and Counting Staff in various irregularities and illegalities which materially influenced the result of the counting;

(e) Violability of the ballot boxes which has been demonstrated at so many places;

(f) the long interval in many cases between the close of polling and the date of counting making it possible for manipulation of ballot boxes.

The Working Committee is definitely of the opinion that its failure to capture a sufficiently large number of seats is primarily due to the campaign of villification carried on by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru particularly in charging the Hindu Mahasabha with complicity in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Working Committee hereby appoints a Sub-Committee consisting of Shri N.C. Chatterjee, Shri Srikrishna Sharma (Rajkot), Prof. Ram Singh, (Delhi), Sri Vishwanath Agarwal (Lucknow) and Sri R.A. Kanitkar (as Convenor) with a view to collect further acurate facts and detailed information about these allegations and prepare a report for the consideration of the Committee and also to suggest improvements in the existing laws and rules governing the General Elections.

## Critical situation in Jammu & Kashmir.

Different versions of the recent happenings in the Jammu city which led to lathi-charges, firing, promulgation of curfew order for 79 hours, handing over of the city to the military control, calling the Punjab Police, arrests, detentions, externments, suspension of Hindu officers and continuance of the hunger-strike by the students till this day etc. have appeared in the Indian press. It is sad that the events have taken a very serious turn and even the very life of many hunger-striking students is in danger. The situation in Jammu and Kashmir is causing grave agitation in the minds of Hindus all over India.

The Working Committee is definitely of the opinion that thrusting of party flag of the National Conference on Jammu and Kashmir state and having a separate flag for the State along with the Union flag is against democracy and militates against the essential unity of Hindusthan.

This meeting of the Working Committee is further of the opinion that the persecution of political parties for conducting just agitation for the complete integration of Jammu and Kashmir is against all cannons of civil liberties.

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So far as the actual events are concerned there are two different versions -- one being the Government version and the other being non-official version.

Reserving our comment at present and keeping all these different aspects in view and for the greater interests of India and in order to correctly assess the situation and finding facts the Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha requests the Government of India to set up an independent Judicial Commission, presided over by some of Indian High Court Judge, to investigate into the happenings in Jammu.

It also resolves that a deputation of two members of the Working Committee should be sent to Jammu to look into the matter.

## Repression in Saurashtra.

The Working Committee views with great concern and alarm the campaign of repression started by the Congress Government in Saurashtra against its political opponents particularly against those who fought in the last election against the Congress candidate and many of whom are leading members of the Hindu Mahasabha on the plausible ground that they had conspired with a gang of outlaws and is of the opinion that this campaign is a prelude to further act of repression against its political rivals and constitute a flagrant abuse of autocratic powers conferred upon the Government under the provision of the Preventive Detention Act. The Working Committee demands that these persons be placed on trial before a Court of Law without further loss of time or be released forthwith.

## Pakistan flag and election propaganda.

The Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha notes with indignation that Pakistan flag was displayed and pro-Pakistani slogans were raised during the course of the general election in certain parts of Madras Presidency ~~xxx~~ West Bengal and Hyderabad and that in spite of concrete evidence being available, no action has been taken against these open enemies of the State.

The Mahasabha has further ~~xxx~~ reliable informations that in the border districts of West Bengal, particularly in the Constituencies bordering Pakistan, thousands of Moslems who had migrated to Pakistan during the 1950 episode, but whose names were still retained in the voters list, crossed the frontier and cast their votes obviously in favour of the Congress candidates, that a responsible Minister of the Pakistan Government such as its Prime Minister, Mr.Nazimuddin broadcasted speeches from Dacca Radio urging the Moslems to work for success of the Congress candidates, with the result that in many Pakistan border districts propaganda offices were opened with the active collaboration of the officials and Moulavis and Mollas were sent out to work amongst the Moslems masses of West Bengal with a view to securing their solid support to the Congress nominees.

The Mahasabha is of opinion that this is an extraordinary event in the general election of the country and constitutes a direct interference in the internal affairs of Bharat by a foreign ~~xx~~ power. The Mahasabha urges the Government to institute an enquiry into the matter and take steps against persons and organisations for promoting such anti-State activities.

## Pakistani spies in Hyderabad State.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has received reports of the ~~xx~~ nefarious activities of Pakistani agents in Adilabad District of Hyderabad State. The Working Committee notes with grave concern the utter neglect of these dangerous activities both by the State and the Union Governments and is simply shocked to learn that the local officials are being harassed and even punished for taking steps against these agents. The Working Committee draws attention of the Union Government to this situation for effective action and demands a judicial inquiry in the episode.

This Committee deputes Shri S.R. Date to make inquiries regarding the actual state of affairs and report to the Working Committee.

## General Political situation.

The Working Committee of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that the general elections have brought about a fundamental change in the political situation of the country owing to the emergence of the Communist Party as the single

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The following letter was written by Pt. P. N. Dogra to Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla, The prime Minister of J & K; ~~The copies of which were also sent to G. M. Bakshi~~ - Home Minister

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All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad, Jammu.

August_____1955.

Since the day of my return to Jammu I have been receiving detailed information about the attrocities committed by Police and Militia in different parts of Jammu. The Information has been coming both from the victims of the attrocities and highly respectable and responsible unattached persons. It shows that there has been large scale looting of the villages in tehsils of Jammu, Akhnoor, Nowshera, Rajouri, Reasi, Ramban and Basohli by the Police and the Militia. People of the villages were literally forced out of their homes and they had to stay for days and weeks in outlying jungles leaving all they possessed to the mercy of custodians of law and order who behaved as worst brigands and free-booters.

The arrested satyagrahies were invariably subjected to merciless beating and torture in and outside the Police lock ups before their conviction. The victim of Police firing were treated in a most barbarous way. I have cases before me where lives of some persons injured by bullets could have been saved had medical aid been given to them. But the authorities not only did not give any medical aid to them but also prevented others from doing so.

The worst part of these attrocities is the crimes against women. I have got definite information about criminal assault and rape of innocent girls and women by very responsible police officers of the State not to speak of ordinary constables who were encouraged to do such things by giving to them spirituous drinks before they set out on their head-hunting expeditions.

These are things which must shake the conscience of any civilised person. The resentment these happenings have created in the minds of the people of Jammu is both natural and intense. In the interest of justice and morality as also for pacifying the minds of the people it is essential that

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Government should set up an impartial commission of enquiry presided over by a Supreme court judge to investigate into these attrocities. This is a most urgent matter and does not brook any delay.

I do not want to do any thing at this juncture which may embarass the Government. But justice must be done to pacify the people whose suffering has been so great. Further the criminal officers will continue to harass people to fabricate evidence in their favour till such an enquiry begins.

I also want to avoid any untoward incident which may take place because of the universal resentment against such criminal officers.

I therefore plead with you to take early steps in the matter.

I expect an early intimation from you in this connection.

Yours

(Prem Nath Dogra)
President,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
J A M M U.

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah
Hon'ble Prime Minister,
Jammu & Kashmir State,
Srinagar.

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Copies submitted to:-

1. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed,
   Hon'ble Home Minister,
   Jammu & Kashmir State,

2. Shree Jawahar Lal Ji Nehru,
   Hon'ble Prime Minister of India.

3. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju,
   Hon'ble Home Minister of India.

for information and favour of early necessary action.

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27/7/53

I am happy to be back with my people after 8 months absence. It was a period of trial for us. We had voluntarily taken resort to the path of self sacrifice and suffering for the vindication of our right to live a life of honour and security in our own homeland as a component part of India. The way you have passed through this trial makes me proud of you. What I have seen and heard about the way you conducted the Satyagrah after my arrest has convinced me that the future of our State is secure. Our satyagraha has no parallel in the history of satyagrahas. For eight months two governments had let loose their barbaric force to crush you. But they have not been able to crush you. Rather they have been vanquished. You stand victorious.

Today the whole country is full of praise for you and the brave fight you have given to the forces of separatism and disruption. I had the opportunity to visit a few important places in north India during the last few days. Every where I found tremendous enthusiasm and genuine praise for you people. Your sacrifices have made your cause the cause of whole of India. The conscience of the whole country including the powers that be in New Delhi has been stirred and they have realised and admitted the justice of our cause and the patriotic motives that impelled us to launch our satyagraha.

What did we fight for? Our struggle was aimed at bringing Jammu and Kashmir State close to India of which it has all through the ages been integral part, geographically historically as also culturally. This was necessitated by the separatist policies of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir which were aimed at driving a wedge between the State and the rest of India. Our demand was logical and patriotic. It flowed from the fact of accession of the State to India. We were opposed to the policy of reducing that accession to a dead letter by steadily cutting at the roots of State's unity with India. The Government of India in their indulgence for Sheikh Abdullah

you people are the Salt of Ladakh.

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failed to see the dangerous implications of that policy inspite of our repeated protests, requests and warnings. They did not pay any heed to the exhartations of a patriot like Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee even. But I am happy to tell that it has been proved beyond doubt that we were on the right. The whole of India has now awakened to the dangers of systematic sep ratism of some Kashmiri politicians. It is now admitted at all hands that our movement was neither communal nor reactionary but was an outcome of the patriotic urge of the people of the State to be one with India.

That is why overtures were made to us to stop the Satyagraha. I was taken to Srinagar to have consultations with Dr.S.P.Mookerji. Pt. Nehru who for three long years refused to talk to your representatives and spoke fire against us day in and day out, stepped out of his shell of self complacency and appealed to us for cooperation and for cessation of satyagraha. He called us and heard our view point. It was a clear victory of you people. It shows that you cannot be ignored,,that you have made your existence felt. I wish he had done this a month earlier. That might have saved the country from the great tragedy of Dr. Mookerjee's death. But still it is matter of satisfaction that light has dawned upon Pt. Nehru after all.

I had talks with some other ministers of the Central and Kashmir Government as well. I do not think that I am divulging anything if I say that they have begun to appreviate our vie point. The dangerous results of the policy of drift in regard to Kashmir have already begun to manifest themselves. And they have forced them to pay heed to our warnings which had gon unheeded so far. India's stake in Kashmir is high. She cannot afford to bungle there any more. An I hope that steps to end the dangerous suspense about the future of the State will be soon taken. Jurisdiction of Supreme Court, Fundamental rights and Financial integration of the State with India are natural corrolaries of State's accession to India and I am confident that the State will have the benefit

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of them very soon.

Definite steps will also soon be taken to r move the economic and other grievences of the people within the State. Some of them have already been taken. Something has been done to rehabilitate ex-service-men, remove controls etc. The report of the Wazir Committee which was set up as a result of our satyagraha has vindicated our stand about land reforms and other economic policies of the government.

We have stopped our satyagraha to give time to Pt. Nehru and Kashmir Government to set things right. The same patriotic motives which impelled us to launch the satyagraha 8 months ago have now impelled us to stop it even though we had the strength and determination to carry it on for many months mor . During this period Kashmir problem which had already become complicated has become delicate. Our warnings and worst fears have come true. Persons masquerading as India's friends and followers of Mahatma Gandhi have come out in their true colours. They have begun to flirt with the idea of independent Kashmir for the fulfillment of their own ambition. They have forgotten how this independence mania brought destruction to Kashmir in 1947. We are and have been opposed to it whether it comes from Pt. Ram Chand Kak or Sheikh Abdullah. I want to appeal to my Kashmiri brethren not to be exploited by such false cries. They will land them in trouble.

It is wrong to suggest that our movement was aimed against Sheikh Abdullah or Kashmiris as such. We have always looked upon Kashmir as an ingeral part of the state withing India. We extended our fullest cooperation to Sheikh Abdullah when he was installed in power. It was unfortunate that he misconstrued our willing cooperation for the common end of unity with India to be our weakness. I am sure he has now realised our strength. I want to assure him that we want to be his friends provided he gives up his separatist policies. Let him be Indian first and Kashmiri or Muslim afterwards and we are with him.

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The sufferings undergone and the sacrifices made by you people during the Satyagrah have been immense. You have faced bullets and braved all the engines of repression in the armoury of Kashmir and Indian Police with most commendable courage, restraint and discipline. By committing crimes against women the State Government has proved that it is not fit to be called a civilised government. You had the power and ability to give them blow for blow. But by suffering non-violently you have proved that you are ture satyagrahis.

But the greatest sacrifice for our cause was made by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji who died a martyrs death in a Srinagar Jail. In his death the country has paid the greatest price for Jammu and Kashmir's unity with India. The people of State will ever rember him. We will carry on his mission. It is also our desire to build befitting memorial to his memory at Jammu and Srinagar. I hope the people of the state will contribute liberally to Dr. Mookerji Memorrial fund when appeal is made for it. We are also one with the rest of India in the demand for an impartial enquiry into the mysterious circumstances in which Dr. Mookerji died.

The immediate task before us now is to re-organise ourselves. The people are with us. They have proved their faith in Praja Parishad by standing by it in thick and thin. Their strength and energies have now to be diverted to constructive work of removing poverty, disease and ignorance. The Kandi area of our land is most neglected. Its needs have to be looked into. The Praja Parishad will soon set up a committee to make a social and economic survey of the Kandi ilaqa. I will appeal to my fellow workers to make a cooperative effort in their respective sphere to ameliorate the lot of the people and share their sufferings. Service of the people is the real measure of our strength. We must now concentrate on educating them so that they may be able to discharge the responsibilities that are soon going to devolve on them in a worthy manner.

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P-31

Rebuttal of denial of the Kashmir Govt, regarding its attempt to carve out predominently Muslim zones out of the areas which were over-helmingly non-muslim. D/ 6th Feb. 1953.

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6th Feb. 1953.

The denial statement of the Kashmir Government regarding its attempt to carve out predominenntly Muslim zones out of the areas which were over-helmingly non-muslim in Jammu Province published in the "Hindu" dated 6th Feb. 1953, page 7 column 4, is nothing but prostitution of the facts. Their reason that the boundaries of some districts have been adjusted "as a result of 31,251 Square Miles of the state terri~~tory~~ having been over-run by the enemy upto the end of the period" is far from truth and not convincing. A casual study of the map enclosed herewith would clearly show what the Kashmir Government has so far done and what it further intends to do.

Immediately after the assumption of the power the present Government transferred 18 villages of Ramban Tehsil (District Udhampur) falling on the valley side of the Peer Panjal to Anantnag District. These both districts had not been effected by the enemy raiders at all. Similarly some villages of Reasi District were joined with Anantnag District. Not satisfied with that in Baisakh 2005 (April, 1948) one month after taking of the oath by the present interim Ministry the Government split Udhampur District with 1,65,000 Hindus and ~~xx~~ 1,28,000 Muslims population into two districts and created a new district of Doda with the three tehsils of Ramban, Kishwar and Bhadarwah with a population and of 1,09,000 muslims and 77,000 Hindus leaving behind Udhampur District with two tehsils of Udhampur and Ramnagar with a population of 88,000 Hindus and 20,000 Muslims. Thus old district~~s~~ of Udhampur, which was not raided by the enemy was divided into Muslim and non-Muslim zones and this division facilitated Sir Owen Dixen to include "some adjacent territories" along with Kashmir valley for Plebicite purposes. And is it not in the draft contituation ~~of~~ the Kashmir Government to divide the state into four commissioner~~s~~ es of Ladakh, Jammu ( Excluding Doda

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6th Feb. 1953.



and Rajouri Poonch), Kashmir valley (including Doda), and Rajouri Poonch? It would be interesting to note that Peer Panjal 10,000 feet high mountain near Banihal and at some places still higher separates valley from Doda District and remains unsurpassable for six months a year and all the necessary supplies of this new districts are imported from Jammu.

Reasi District had two tehsils of Reasi and Rajouri. The new regime has tagged Rajouri with Poonch and joined the Niabat of Naushehra with it and thus created a new district of Rajouri and Poonch in which two lacs Muslims from across the cease Five line came after 1949and have been rehabilitated there. This has also been inverted into a Muslim majority zone by adjustment of boundaries. This fact of infilteration was disclosed by Sheikh Sahib in his statement in the Indian Parliament on 5th March, 1952. It was due to this unchecked policy of infilteration of the Kashmir Goverment that a District Magistrate of Rajouri Mr. Trilochan Dutt, who belonged to National Conference and who was erstwhile a private tutor and became a District Magistrate through the good wishes of the party bosses, resigned as a protest against it. Then the remaining portion of Reasi District i.e. Reasi Tehsil was joined with Udhampur District making it a predominently Hindu majority District. The re-adjustment of the District in the valley has not been materially effected. Only a new district of Srinagar city has been created and the reconquered parts of Muzafarabad District have been joined to Baramula District. The Hindu Sikh refegees of Muzafarabad and Baramula Districts have been refused to be rehabilitated in the Kashmir Valley. These Districts formed part of the valley and these refugees had a right to be rehabilitated in the valley. They demanded as such but were refused and they have been forcibly rehabilitated on the borders of Jammu without giving them any arms to defend themselves. This, in short, is the 'SECULAR' policy and

P. T. O.

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Inside Kashmir

For more than a couple of months now the Praja Parishad has been carrying on an agitation in Jammu, which has resulted in a wide spread disruption of the normal life of the community on the one hand, and police firings, lathi charges and arrests on the other.. There will be general agreement that this state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue without doing lasting injury to the State. But it is equally clear, from the look of things, that it cannot be brought to an end by the kind of administrative action that the Government of the state are rightly taking to maintain law and order. While there should be no let up in this direction, there is a case for simultaneous moves for conciliation on the political plane by a proper understanding of the grievance behind this movement. Whatever the origin of the agitation, it has taken theform of a demand for the cutting off of the province of Jammu from the State and its integration with India. This clearly is impossible at this juncture if only because the Government of India would not consider it for a moment. In so far as it is based on the fact that the population of Jammu is predominantly non-Muslim it asks for the acceptance of the two nation theory against which Indian leaders have set their face, especially in regard to Kashmir. But that is not all there is to it. The Parishad leaders claim, with some justification that the demand for partition has been forced on them because of certain recent developments in theset-up of the new regime in the state. They point out that, while the leaders of the ruling party in Kashmir, the National Conference, have been saying that the accession of the State to India is complete, they have also been claiming that the autonomy of the State will continue unimpaired they xaver that his latter view carried greater weight with the National Conference, by pointing out that even the compromise formula arrived at between the Governmentsof Kashmir and India as to the special constitutional position conceded to that State has been implemented only to the extent that it reflects the difference between Kashmir and the other Indian States which have acceded to India. Thus as laid down in the Indo-Kashmir agreement of July last, hereditary

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lutorship has been abolished and a distinctive State flag has been adopted. But the other items in the Agreement, such asfinancial integeration and the acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India have not been taken up for early implementation by the State Government. And these are the very points which have a special appeal to the people of Jammu. Being in a minority with reference to the xxxxwhole of the Stae, they regard these provisions as a safe-guard for the protection of their fundamental constitutional and economic interests.

But the immediate cause of the present discontent appears to be based on the economic conditions which have marked the province out as a depressed area for a long time. Apparently the measures taken in recent times by the Government have not convinced the local the local population that there will be a change for the better in the condition of life, which a recent press note by the State Government described x as "the wretfhedness, poverty and degradation of the vast masses xxf h of the Jammu people". Finally, there is a large psychological element that bedevils the relationship between the new regime and the Dogra population of Jammu. An observer who has no affiliations either way has summed up the delicate situation thus: "Sheikh Abdullah's regular thrusts at Dogra rule only increase irritation in Jammu. Whether he is conscious of it or not, the State Premier's attitude on Jammu breeds suspicion and distrust among people who regard themselves as dispossess-ed and out of favour". We mention this because everything has to be taken into account in finding a long-term settlement. It is significant that twenty prominent citizens of Jammu who are not members of either the Parishad nor the National Conference have urged the State Government to "understand the right demands of the people". The signatories to the appeal include a former Minister of Finance and Home Affairs, a former Governor of Gilgit and the President of the Jammu Chamber of Commerce. Expressing the fear that, if the grave situation is not met speedily, the State's integrity would be jeopardi-sed, they point out the inadequacy of suppressive measures alone. Fortunately Sheikh Abdullah's recent statement on the situation in

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Jammu shows a welcome awareness of this fact. "My Government", he said, "wants victory over the hearts of Jammu province. We realise that this victory cannot be achieved by force". Doubtless Sheikh Abdullah will, during his forthcoming visit to Hyderabad, take counsel with Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders as to the best means of achieving this larger victory.

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## RESOLUTION

The accession of the State with the Indian Union is the recognization of the principles that Bharat including Kashmir is one country and the corollary that the whole country should have one Constitution naturally follows. There cannot be two constitutional set up in the same country and if the principle is allowed to be compromised in respect of one part of the country it will encourage the other parts to follow the track and hence the national integrity will give away to the disruptive elements to play their mischief.

The article 370 of the Indian Constitution was a temporary measure as is evident from the speech of late Gopala Swami Aynger. Argument is advanced in favour of a separate constitution of State on the plea that their will be international complications /that might rise in a case request for separate constitution if not acceded. To us this has little meaning specially when Union Home and Prime Ministers have time and again pronounced that there will be no Plebicite in the State. The whole contest of the problem has changed due to the entry of Pakistan in the Bagdad Pact. Moreover the idea of separate constitution will continue to be used by anti-national element in the State that there is still some lacuna in the accession of the State with the Indian Union. To nip this sort of trouble Praja Parishad wants that adoption of separate constitution for the State will be animical to larger interest of India.

Principally, historically and geographically Kashmir is a part of Bharat and hence the people living in Kashmir should also enjoy the same rights and has the same constitutional safegurads as the people living in the rest of India. To maintain the national integrity Kashmir should also have same constitutional set up as rest of country. This is the aspiration of the people living in Jammu & Kashmir State. It will restore normalcy and all uncertainty about the future of the State.

The General Session of Jammu & Kashmir Praishad vie-ws the present circumstances with great concern. The session firmly believes that the application of Indian Constitution in its entirety to the State can alone restore law and order in the State and thus create confidence among the people about their lot. The session makes it clear that unless the constitution of Bharat is applied in toto to the State they would not be a party or would not suffer imposition of any step which is taken with a view to satisfy separatist and anti.nationa tendancies.

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The Jammu and Kashmir state being an integral part of Bharat from times immemorial the people of the state are indissolubly linked with other Bhartyas so far as their traditions political, cultural and economic life is concerned.

In the year 1947 due to the barbarous attack of Pakistan on the state of Jammu and Kashmir , Sheikh Abdullah was brought into power much less by force of circumstances , but much more by bond of true love of Pandit Nehru . This Sheikh,as you all now know with the help of his communal and selfish party men started the gane bargaining both with Pakistan,who plundered the wealth,modesty and beauty of our mother land, and with India, who actually brought him out of Jail and brought him to this exalted position of Prime Ministership of J&K state . This fact influenced the rather timid leaders of India to appease and grant a special status to this state where communists and communalists gained power day by day.

Intoxicated with power , this ruling clique, instead of developing the state , engaged themselves in making fortunes for themselves and their kith and kin and their party men. In order to have a free hand in the state affairs they manipulated to make the state a seperate indipendent unit. Their unchecked dictatorial powers were uded to suppress the civil liverties of the people by enacting repressive laws of the dark ages . Corruption ,partiality and nepotism became rampant everywhere. Things came to such a dangerous pass that Praja Parishad had to give them a tough fight . Thrice the innocent Dogras were mercilessly belaboured, chidren teargassed and women folk molested . All this did not quench their thirst but during the last Praja Parishad Satyagrah precious young lives of 15 Dogras brave men were sacrificed to unfold their natorious plans. Their last and severest blow was on the brightest gem of Bharat Mata.

From the very beginning of its regime the National Conference had a very bad record of unfair practices. In the last general Elections it again came to power through their very means of brute force and illegally rejecting Nomination papers of Praja Parishad candidates ,and prepared a seperate constitution

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for the state to perpetuate seperatistic mentality.

In the opinion of the Praja parishad , and view of the present critical international situation when the two strong blocks of the world are greedily manovering for having the state as their strategical point for the impending war, and itscase in the Security Council is being mishandled by interested persons, This seperate constitution will only encourage fissiperous tendedcies by keeping alive a feeling of seperatism and duality between the state and the rest of India. The dominating influence of communists and communalists in the state Govt.helps to support the above idea and is a matter of grave anxiety. Under such circumstances maintaining of colidarity and neutral... can hardly be expected.

Such an atmosphere in the state of this juncture is very dangerous and requires a strong remedial measure to set it right.

It is therefore very essential that the state should be brought fully under the constitution of India by repealing the Articls 370 of the constitution . This will create a sense of security among the faithful elements of the State and demoralize the unpatriotic groups .

In these times when war have no discrimination regarding boundaries and peoples it goes without saying that patriatism, moral and discipline of the nation prove to be more urgent and necssary than Military power alone. Along with the explosive situation in the State the administration is also corrupt and bad. The last general Elections Municipality elections bear ample proof of this moral degradation of the party in power. The public in generally prune to follow the rulers and if the public also copies the ruling party in the state then both the Govt.and the public are doomed.

Thinking rationally and realistically the conclusion we came to is that the development and high character and feeling the spirit of patriotism are the most essential necessities only true education can solve this problem. The present system of education has caused deterioration in charactor and produced misguided vane and desperate money seekers charactor is even more important than the vigour of body keenness of intellect so there is need for imparting proper religous (spritual)instruction

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The following is the full text of the Statement issued by Shri Durga Dass Verma, General Secretary, All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad on 28.1.52.

My attention has been drawn to the recent statement of Shri Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg in the Kashmir Constituent Assembly that "State of Jammu & Kashmir would be an autonomous Republic within the Indian Union and that the State would have its President as also its own National Assembly" etc., etc.,. While highly disappointing to the elements desirious of speedy integration of the State with Bharat, it has not in the least caused any surprise to the Parishad circle at large. Whereas it confirms our oft repeated doubts regarding this sinster move towards independance of the present rulers of the State; it must serve as an eye opener to the people of ~~Bharat~~ the Indian Republic.

Shri Sheikh Abdullah's and his lieutnants' these ill advised uttarances are a timely pointer to prove what is being manuplated behind the screen. The present declaration of Shri Beg to the above effect is only a final release of all that the Kashmir National Conference leaders by virtue of being the unquestionable rulers of the State at present, have been contemplating to maintain the Independant status of the State expressed so often by Shri Abdullah himself, though hasitantly and diplomatically.

Evidently this goes against Indias' interests, its integrity and solidarity. This specially priviledged and extraordinary position of rulers of the State, is sure to tempt others to develop the same separatish and independant tendency. The recent statement of His Holiness Shri Kashyp-Bagokla, the head Lama of Ladakh, bears testimony to this apprehension. Every patriotic Indian will be purturbed to note this political drama being staged in the State, at a time, when the internal conditions definitely ill afford encouragement of such unfortunate tendencies among the different cultural zones of the State. Because of these impolitic declarations of the boses of the party-in-power, I see no means to checkmate this frustreted psychology, which if allowed to develop shall ultimately bring disaster for the whole State.

Further what is of more importance is that it shall besides leading to social disintegration, make us perpetual political slaves to this one party dictatorship and shall withhold our economic emancipation

The people rightly feel that their ultimate salvation lies in the application of Indian Constitution, as at present there exists no liberty of press and platform, and mass detentions simply of political

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differences, without trials charactarise the present set-up in the State. Judiciary merely serves a routine constituent of State-hiarchy and is under complete control of the all-powerful executive. Thus the proposed autonomous Republican set-up within Indian Union, shall further go on crushing the poverty stricken people of the State under the heavy toll of Customs duty.

In view of all these factors Parishad's stand of complete and unconditional accession of the State with India and the removal of discrimnatory Section 370A from the Indian Constitution represents the inner feeling of the entire State. We are of the opinion that it shall not only make the people of the State one with India, but shall also provide them with opportunities for progress on equal footing with their Indian brothren. The fact that this very pro-Indian stand of the Parishad has been responsible for the disrepute it has accomulated from the interested elements within and without the State, represents an unprecedented historical irony. All the insinuations, insults and humiliations are being suffered by it, as it stands by India, for India and with India.

Now when Shri Beg has laid true cards before the public eye, we hope it shall help the Indian masses to read the true implications and complications of issue and thus afford them an opportunity to rise to the occasion.

As stated often, Praja Parishad is the most depandable unit in the State. It is prepared to shed its last drop of blood to achieve its objective of application of Indian Constitution in the State, which is knowingly obscure to Shri Abdullah. The charges of communalism, secteria-nism, provincialism etc., are themselves ~~behind~~ ~~believed~~ belied by the fact that the Parishad stands for the most secular Constitution of India. It is too simple to ~~view~~ need any further clarification or comment.

The hostile attitude specially of the English Press of Bharat towards Praja Parishad is unfortunate in as much as it is unconsiously cutting at the very roots of Indian unity and solidarity and of oneness of policies and programmes. The cold welcome with which the Parishad is received or is made to be received would rather jeopardise Indian interest themselves, which Parishad endeavours to safeguard not caring even for its ~~elements~~ extinction.

I hope that the said statement by the Honible Revenue Minister in the State Constituent Assembly would serve its useful purpose by

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by giving a strong jerk to those who are complascent about the Kashmir's affairs and let them think seriously about this emerging headache to the Indian Republic.

Jai Bharat

Sd/- DURGA DASS VERMA.
GENERAL SECRETARY,
ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD
JAMMU.

Copy of the above forwarded to _____

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_____ for favour of publication.

OFFICE SECRETARY,
ALL JAMMU AND KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD.
JAMMU.

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Hon'ble
G. Angangar

ONE of the most difficult problems in framing of Jammu & Kashmir State's constitution is to satisfy regional aspirations and other demands of a like nature. The draft circulated has suggested the division of the State into four administrative regions. But this regional divisions proposed in the draft, I am afraid, will rely to the fragmentation and disrupt the progressive political movements in the State as a whole. The proposed regional redistribution of areas has ignored geography, natural barriers, physical lay out of the land, natural outlets, economic and trade relations, and cultural affinities. The draft envisages an unnatural grouping of areas mainly on communal percentage of populations, which if agreed to, might do infinite mischief to the growth of secular politics. The arrange--ments contemplated will fan communal and racial rivalries and passions, foment communal combinations and encourage communal alignments. The creation of Doda and Rajouri Districts was in the main a purely administrative measure and assurances to this effect were given by the Govt. at the time of their creation to the people of those areas and the people of Jammu. Moreover, such a move at this juncture will help to strengthen the Imperialist plans for a zonal and communal partition of the State.

But similar probalems have arisen elsewhere and it would be of immense help to see how they were solved. An attempt should be made to meet regional aspirations without creating separate Govt. Heads, without incurring extra expenditure or effecting fragmentation of financial resources. The case of Austria - Hungry of the pre-1914-era is an instructing instance. If we call Austria-Hungry a Union, Hungry a province and Croatia, a sub province of Hungary, the relations betw the province and the sub province were as follows:-

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1. The Union, the Province and the sub-province had a common Head.
2. Each had its own legislature and executive dealing with its own subjects.
3. The sub-province had its own contingent of members both in the provincial legislature and the Union ~~kwgkkk~~ Legislature.
4. The sub-province had a special Minister in the provincial cabinet.
5. The sub-province had its own official langugge.

Another useful instance is the Government machinery in the united Kingdon for this purpose, it isuseful to study the administrative arrangements obtaining in tha country in 1912, when the whole of Ireland was still as a part of the United Kingdom. In the U.K. Cabinet of 1912 there were 15 members concerned with domestic adminis--tration. If, therefore, dealt with subjects of common interest and exercised their powers in each of the three parts of U.K. Of the rest three were exclusively meant for England, one Secretary of the State for Scotland had functions only in Scotland and one had functions only in Ireland ; others had functions in one part and some in more than one. On the legislative side there was also some measure of regionalism.

It is possible to adapt these arrangements with suitable modifications to the State conditions and meet the desire for regional autonomy to a considerable extent, without jeopardising the political integrity of the State as a whole. The following arrange--ments based on the two instances quoted above, if considered, can satisfy to a large extent local aspirations without breaking up the State. These arrangements will constitute a particular mode of administering an existing Unit.

1. For more convenient transaction of business the

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State of Jammu and Kashmir may be divided into two administrative Units, the province of Jammu and the province of Kashmir. The Kashmir province shall consist of the three districts of the Kashmir Valley, and Tehsils of Kargil and Ladakh. The Jammu Province shall comprise Jammu Kathua, Udhampur, Doda and Poonch-Rajouri Districts

2. The executive Head of the State will also be the executive Head of the province.

3. Both the provinces will have a common legislature elected on adult franchise which shall meet twice in Jammu during Winter and twice at Srinagar during Summer and Spring Autumn.

4. During the first fortnight of its Session, the legislature shall function as the provincial legislature xxx of the province in which it has met, when members elected from that province need alone be present. For the remaining period of its Session, the legislature shall meet as the National Assembly of the State as a whole.

5. The Head of the State will be advised by provincial Ministers elected from the legislatures of that province in affairs relating to the provincial subjects and by the central cabinet for affairs of common concern.

6. The provincial Ministers will have their permanent Headquarters at the Capital of the each province, where as the Ministers of the Central Cabinet shall move during Winter to Jammu and during Summer to Srinagar.

7. All executive actions of the Government will be taken in the name of the Head of the State and deemed as the executive action of the Jammu and Kashmir Government. How and by whom the action is taken is purely a matter of domestic arrangement.

8. The action of the legislature similarly will be deemed as the action of the State National Assembly. Through which particular set of legislators, the State

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legislature acts for a given purpose is again a domestic detail.

9. Each province shall have its own official language or languages.

10. The cultural and linguistic minorities in each province shall have statutary right to receive education through the language of their choice and there shall be a minister belonging to that University to look after their interests in the provincial set of ministers.

11. The following subjects shall be deemed to be of provincial interest localself Government, Panchayat rural development, Co-operatives, Public Health, Veterinary, Education; Primary and Secondary, Libraries, Museums and institutions of like nature, Relief and Rehabilitation, Roads, Works, Lands and Buildings, Bridges, in land water ways, Ferries. Agriculture, Irrigation, Water supply, Electricity, Forests, Protection of wild animals, Birds and fisheries, Mines and minerals development, Inland trade and comerce, Tourism, inland transport, Markets, Fairs, Pilgrimage, Theatre, Cinema, Betting and gambling, Planning and Industries.

12. The following Heads of revenue can be pooled for the provincial administration fund:-

a) Land Revenue, Abiana etc.,

b) Income from Forests,

c) Taxes on the entry of goods into a local area,

d) Tax on the consumption of electricity and water supply

e) Tax on animals, boats,

f) Fines for offences against laws, with respect to matters on the provincial list.

Such an arrangement has several advantages. It:

1) Meets to a large extent the demand for regional self-rule. The degree of separation and autonomy can be varied by extending or reducing the list of joint

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2. It avoids unnecessary overhead expenditure. The creation of two set of ministers will not necessarily mean increase in expenditure. The creation of provincial minister will obviate the necessity of deputy ministers and some inter provincial Heads like the Chief Conser--vator of Forests, Director General Rural uplift and Tourism etc. etc. The present combined secretariat is already over staffed. It can easily be reorganised and redistributed to suit the arrangement of Two set of ministers.
3. It meets the fears of distinct culture and linguistic minorities without breaking the geographic and natural unity of the area and without encouraging communal and other disruptive tendencies.
4. It maintains the political integrity of the State.
5. Still greater cohesion and uniformity between the working of the two provincial administrations and the centre can be secured by evolving a working convention whereby the senior minister from Kashmir provincial ministers may be allowed to function as the Prime Minister of the State and the Senior provincial minister from Jammu to function as the Deputy Prime Minister in addition to the provincial work allotted to them. Each can represent his provincial Govt. when the National Assembly is in session in the province other than the one which he represents.

The plan suggested may at first sight seem to be cumberous and unusual. But the detailed arrangements will in fact be secured not by provisions in the Constitution but by rules of business framed and by evolving suitable legislature and executive convenience and precedents. If some particular mode of business is found to be defective it can be altered by altering the relevant rule of business.

For the arrangements proposed and the analysis

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of the different constitutions, I am indebted to the Pamphlets on Regional arrangements published by Shri B.N.Rau, the World known Jurist and Constitutionalist.

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